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Karpov Proposes Tactical Nuclear Weapons Cuts

LD1501162690 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The past four years made the world safer and brought a successful curbing of the arms race and disarmament closer, a Soviet deputy foreign minister said here today.

Viktor Karpov was speaking at a news conference that marked the fourth anniversary of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's statement setting forth a programme for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional armaments.

Karpov said the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. treaty on 50 per cent cuts in the strategic offenseive arms arsenals would add a new quality to the disarmament dialogue.

However, the two countries still have considerable differences on sea-and air-launched long-range cruise missiles, he added.

"To make headway and find a mutually acceptable approach the countries apparently have to take a political decision," he said.

Speaking about moves that could follow the conclusion of a 50 per cent arms cuts treaty, the deputy minister said the Soviet Union had already proposed to the United States that the two countries jointly determine the main parameters of subsequent talks as soon as possible.

During those talks, the sides could discuss the correlation between defensive and offensive armaments and the elimination of weapons that either side considers the most dangerous.

Taking into account the breakthrough expected at the Vienna talks on reductions in conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe, a gradual withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons from the "European military equation" is a matter for the nearest future, Karpov said.

He noted that although the complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons remains more preferable for the Soviet Union, the Soviet side is ready to reduce these weapons to a lower level, as an intermediary step, and to discuss "minimal nuclear containment."

Karpov also spoke about a ban on the production of fissionable materials for military purposes. This area of nuclear disarmament, which he described as "promising," implies the curtailment of the industrial base for the production of the main component of nuclear weapons.

"There is already a good groundwork—the well-known unilateral steps by the Soviet Union and the United States—for the beginning of specific talks on this issue," Karpov said.

General Staff's Chervov on Arms Cuts, Budget

LD1201131490 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Interview with Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, member of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, by military correspondent Valeriy Chebotaryev; date and place not given—Chervov remarks recorded in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] There is a custom of summing up the results of the previous year in the first days of the new one. Our military correspondent Valeriy Chebotaryev has asked Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces to say what the Soviet Union did last year to carry out its defense-oriented military doctrine.

[Chervov] Practical steps confirming the defense doctrine were cuts in the military potential, of course. I could name concrete figures of what was done by 1 January 1990. The strength of the Armed Forces was reduced by 265,000 men. The arms reductions in Europe affected 9,320 tanks, over 5,000 artillery systems, 835 combat aircraft, 40 warships—12 of them submarines. Out of the tanks I mentioned, over 2,000 were physically destroyed and over 500 remade into auxilliary vehicles and targets, said General Chervov.

[Announcer] The next question was: What about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from allied countries?

[Chervov] The withdrawal from Mongolia affected over 50,000 servicemen, 3,120 tanks, 768 artillery pieces, and 350 combat aircraft. From Warsaw Treaty countries we pulled out three tank divisions out of the six planned, assualt airforce units, landing, transfer, and other units with armaments and equipment; 500 tactical nuclear charges were also withdrawn. In general we are ready to withdraw all tactical nuclear weapons from allied countries if the United States does the same.

[Announcer] The next question: What can you say about Soviet military spending?

[Chervov] The defense budget for 1990 is 8.2% less than in 1989. It dropped from 77.3 to 71 billion rubles. In the next 2 years military spending will be reduced by over 14%, or 10 billion rubles. If the situation permits, we plan to cut down the share of our spending on defense in the national income by 33% to 50% by 1995.

[Announcer] And the last question was: Economic problems worry many people now; what can you say of the defense industry in this context?

[Chervov] The general volume of military production will be reduced by almost 20% while the output of tanks will go down by 50%, ammunition by 30%, combat helicopters by 25%, and armoured vehicles by 20%. As a result, the contribution of the defense complex to the national economy will grow from 40% in 1989 to 60% in 1995.

6th Round of Nuclear Test Talks Begin in Geneva

Delegation Head on Test Ban Possibility

LD1201153790 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—The Soviet Union is convinced that the ending of nuclear tests would reliably cut off channels for the upgrading and proliferation of nuclear weapons and would be a practical step towards complete elimination of nuclear weapons, stated Igor Palenykh, the leader of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-American nuclear test ban talks.

He spoke today at a news conference marking the 4th aniversary of President Mikhail Gorbachev's statement setting out a programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. The anniversary falls on January 15.

The accords reached by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker during the Wyoming meeting in September last year became an important impulse to the successful course of Soviet-American talks on limiting and ending nuclear tests, Palenykh said.

The accords made it possible to seal the hydrodynamic and seismic verification methods as well as on-site inspections in the verification protocol to the 1974 Soviet-American treaty on the limitation on underground tests of nuclear weapons.

There is a realistic possibility that, during the 6th negotiating round, which is to begin in Geneva next week, the verification protocols to the 1974 Soviet-American treaty on the limitation of underground tests of nuclear weapons and to the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes may be prepared for signing at the Soviet-American summit in June this year.

The Soviet Union, Palenykh emphasised, intends to strictly abide by the bilateral accords under which the Soviet Union and the United States, following the signing of the verification protocols to the 1974 and 1976 treaties, would immediately move to next phase of negotiations to further limit nuclear tests both in yield and amount.

He recalled that complete ending of the tests of nuclear weapons is the ultimate goal of the negotiations.

The Soviet side does not consider the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States separately from multilateral nuclear-test-ban efforts that are being made at multilateral international forums, including the Geneva conference on disarmament, Palenykh said.

Views New Round of Talks

LD1401235790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Interview with Igor Mikhaylovich Palenykh, head of the Soviet delegation to the sixth round of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear test limitation talks in Geneva, by commentator Vladimir Pasko on 12 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Tomorrow is the 4th anniversary of the well-known statement by Comrade Gorbachev in which a program for building a nuclear-free world was presented. This program gave a mighty boost to disarmament talks. The sixth round of USSR-U.S. full-scale talks on the limitation and cessation of nuclear testing opens in Geneva tomorrow. The day before yesterday, I met Palenykh, the head of our delegation at the talks. Listen to a fragment of the recording of this conversation:

[Begin recording] [Pasko] Igor Mikhaylovich, the main attention at the talks which you are conducting is now centered on working out the protocols for the Threshold Test Ban treaties of 1974 and 1976 and are aimed at their ratification. During the Malta meeting of the leaders of two countries, it was agreed to finish this work by the next summit meeting, in other words, by the summer of this year. What obstacles for this are left to overcome, and will the protocols be prepared by the time of the summit meeting?

[Palenykh] On the basis of accords reached in Wyoming, the delegations have done a very big job during the last round and, in essence, prepared as a whole a draft protocol of the treaty of 1974. A number of clauses not yet agreed upon still remain, but the serious obstacles, probably—there are no such obstacles at present. The not very substantial differences of opinion of a technical kind we will have to resolve in the course of the coming round. Taking into consideration the work that we shall do on the protocol of the 1974 treaty we, it seems, will have to make some corrections for the protocol to the 1976 treaty. This is because there are a whole number of clauses of the general, legal, organizational, and administrative character which perhaps should be similar in both protocols.

[Pasko] As it was agreed back in 1987, the ratification of the treaties would allow movement forward in working out further intermediate limitations. What limitations might these be, in quantity or yield of explosions, and so on?

[Palenykh] Now, in accordance with the 1974 treaty, the yield of the nuclear tests is limited to 150 kilotons. The protocol that we are working on should ensure control, so that these yields are not exceeded during nuclear testing. The conclusion of the work on the treaties of 1974 and 1976 is very important. Why? Because it indeed opens the possibility of moving to the next stage: test limitations in quantity and yield. The task is to reduce testing to the lowest minimal level so as not to allow any ecological violations.

[Pasko] Igor Mikhaylovich, the limitations that you are talking about, irrespective of whether it is the quantity or yield, the limitation does not halt the increasing sophistication of nuclear weapons. The U.S. refusal of a complete test ban is motivated by the necessity for the improvement of nuclear weapons. In other words, in my opinion, some sort of deadlock situation has been created.

[Palenykh] Yes, of course. The U.S. position makes solving the question of a total nuclear test ban difficult, but I would like to draw your attention to the following facts: in the Soviet-U.S. accords, there is a clause about the third stage of the talks—that after solving the questions of further limitation of testing in yield and quanitity, the sides should move forward to examining the question of a full ban on nuclear testing. We would prefer to solve the problem at once, but we are carrying out talks not just with ourselves. In our future steps, we shall proceed from the accord that I mentioned, and in this sense, I do not regard the situation as a deadlock one.

[Pasko] I wish you a lot of success at the talks. [end recording]

Comment on Arrival in Geneva

LD1301143790 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Geneva January 13 TASS—A Soviet delegation arrived here today for the sixth round of the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks on the limitation and termination of nuclear tests.

Igor Palenykh, head of the Soviet delegation, said at Geneva airport that the Soviet delegation came to Geneva with a clear instruction to complete work on verification protocols to the treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear-weapon tests and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, signed in 1974 and 1976 respectively.

Palenykh said "we proceed from the existing agreement between the leaders of the two countries on signing the above protocols during a summit meeting this June."

Now that the prospects for signing the protocols has become real, it would be important for the sides not to lose the high pace of work and, in accordance with the mandate of the talks, to go over to the second stage, without pause and delays—discussion of further limitations on nuclear explosions in terms of yield and numbers of the way to their complete termination.

This is the final goal of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue in this field, the head of the Soviet delegation stressed.

Talks Open 15 Jan

LD1501203290 Moscow TASS in English 2013 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Geneva January 15 TASS—Another round of Soviet-U.S. talks on curtailing and ceasing nuclear tests opened in Geneva today. The delegations face the task to complete the working out of protocols on verification to the 1974 and 1976 treaties on curtialing underground nuclear weapon tests and underground nuclear tests for peaceful purposes.

In accordance with an agreement beween the Soviet and U.S. leaders, the protocols are expected to be signed during the June 1990 summit and then to be submitted for ratification.

Conventional Arms Talks Resumed in Vienna

Grinevskiy Comments on Forces

LD1101221890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Interview with "roving ambassador" Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation to Vienna arms talks, by Vladimir Pasko on the eve of the resumption of Vienna talks; time and place of interview not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Pasko] [Passage omitted] What has to be done so that a treaty can be signed this year?

[Grinevskiy] Despite differences in our positions on a number of substantial issues, both drafts, both that of the Warsaw Pact and that of NATO, move in the same direction, both in structure and in format, and also in terms of their scope. This opens a path to reaching agreement on the text of the document. The difficulties we face are, above all, difficulties of a fundamental nature. We have to decide once and for all what to do about numerical strength of personnel, what to do about air forces, and what to do about tanks. Those are our difficulties.

[Pasko] I'd like to take advantage of this meeting with you to clarify one thing. Reports on this subject speak of preparation of an initial document. What is meant by this? Does that mean this document will be followed by others, or will it be an initial version of the agreement on which further work will then be done?

[Grinevskiy] What we have unambiguously in mind here is an initial agreement on a first set of accords, as it were, covering—in this case we have spoken of four categories of armed forces and armaments—personnel, aircraft, helicopters, tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery. The next agreement will have to cover deeper reductions of those types of arms that are the most dangerous from the point of view of attack, of sudden attack; but there are other types of arms as well. So these will be the next agreements, or the second-generation agreements, which will be broader in scope and deeper in content. I think the main distinguishing feature of the new agreement must be structural change.

[Pasko] I wish you success at the talks.

[Grinevskiy] Thank you.

5th Round of Talks Open

LD1201143790 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna January 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

The fifth round of negotiations on conventional troops in Europe opened in Austria's capital today.

Twenty-three Warsaw Treaty and NATO states are participating in the round.

The sides hope to sign the first accord on conventional armed forces in Europe this year. But there are still a number of outstanding problems which hamper progress at the forum. Although Western partners have admitted that the East's proposals for cuts in tactical aviation are a compromise, they have not so far produced an answer to the proposals.

Cuts in the personnel have practically been omitted from the discussions lately. Questions concerning Western allies' troops, stationed beyond national territories in Europe, are hanging in the air, and it is sometimes difficult to lose the impression that the West is losing interest in major areas of negotiations.

The elaboration of definitions of combat tanks and combat armoured vehicles also remains open. NATO favors the weight and calibre of guns to be used as criteria in the definition of tanks, but the figures, mentioned by NATO representatives, are far from being realistic. Their obvious aim is to attain unilateral advantages without taking account of the other side's interests, Soviet observers argue.

A level of 14,000 units for combat infantry vehicles and light tanks, which comes under the so-called new enlarged category of combat armoured vehicles, gives extra grounds for concern: On the one hand, such a "ceiling" will enable the West to build up light tanks, and, on the other hand, it presupposes the destruction of a major part of the Warsaw Treaty's combat infantry vehicles.

The state of affairs in artillery is obviously abnormal at the negotiations. Digital parameters of the forthcoming cuts are not yet agreed upon and the lists of systems have not been specified. There are also a number of other problems which hamper progress.

In discussions on problems of European security and disarmament it is frequently stated that the swift changes in the continent might complicate the negotiations and hamper the attainment of accords within the planned time limits. It is also stated that negotiations themselves are not in step with the course of events and are conducted in separation from the new European realities.

"In our view, the events in the continent do not give ground for concern over the outcome of the forum," head of the Soviet delegation, ambassador at large Oleg Grinevskiy told TASS.

"The processes of renewal in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries go hand in hand with the disarmament process. A diversity of economic and social reforms, chosen by these countries, is combined with their common profound interest in the successful completion of negotiations within the shortest period of time.

"As to assertions that the negotiations lag behind political changes, there is some truth in that, in our view. We have already noted disquieting moves to keep a distance between the positions of the two groups of states, hushing up proposals that could help relieve the most complex problems.

"The interest in the USSR's proposal that an all-European summit meeting be held late in 1990 has lately sharply increased both in the East and West. The prospects for such a meeting are becoming increasingly real. Such a meeting could bring about the signing of a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe.

"Such a step would organically fit into the current changes and it would be unpardonable to miss the chance to supplement in good time political detente in the continent with detente in the military area," Grinevskiy said.

Solton Sees 'Turning Point'

LD1201154190 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Talks on cuts in conventional forces in Europe have resumed in Vienna. They involve 23 delegations representing NATO members and the Warsaw Treaty countries. Under discussion are the ways to liquidate military imbalances and sharply reduce the number of troops, tanks, armored personnel carriers, planes, helicopters, and artillery pieces. The start of another round of talks gave rise to abundant forecasts. Many believe that the talks are destined to be successful and that a draft agreement will be ready for signing as early as this year. Is this optimism well grounded? Here's what Yuriy Solton writes:

Honestly speaking, I was somewhat disappointed by the outcome of the previous round. According to the participants in the talks, the discussions went on in a constructive and amicable atmosphere. This is true. But diplomatic politeness cannot hide the fact that the pace for negotiations slowed down. Participants in the talks failed to reach substantial decisions in concrete terms. I have no intention of laying the entire blame on the representatives of NATO. In my view everyone should display a sober approach and make every possible compromise instead of seeking one-sided advantages. But still, delegates from the socialist countries put forward a number of proposals in Vienna. Reaction to them can be different. But some response should be made. The previous round of negotiations saw no such response even though there was an important move. In the last hours of the final session, when the socialist countries put forward a draft agreement, the NATO members submitted their version. That was a good move.

Now it is possible to start discussing the documents point by point. But time is running out. It's essential to prepare suggestions on the problems pending solution by June, when the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush are to meet for a summit. Further on concrete decisions should be taken with a view to

preparing an agreement for signing. This means that the present round of talks should be decisive. But will it be so? The chief Soviet negotiator Oleg Grinevskiy is optimistic. Nevertheless he says that intensive efforts will have to be exerted. The two sides should meet each other halfway. As a matter of fact there is an impression that some Western participants in the negotiations believe that the changes taking place in the Warsaw Treaty countries will force them to be more (?malleable). I view this as an illusion. There are many difficulties. But still I think that the present round of talks will become a turning point. After all, the two sides can resort to conducting a special meeting between the foreign ministers of countries involved in the talks. The Soviet Union suggests that this powerful political reserve be used if necessary. Time will show whether there is a need for it or not.

Spokesman Reviews Nuclear Nonproliferation Talks

LD1201174890 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—A regular round of Soviet-American consultations on nuclear weapons nonproliferation ended in Moscow on January 11. "The characteristic feature of the recent talks is that they were attended by representatives of the new U.S. Administration who, in this way, confirmed their commitment to the policy of non-proliferation," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vladimir Pavlinov told a briefing here today.

As the depositary countries of the 1970 non-proliferation treaty, the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain carry special responsibility for its preservation. It is important to interact not only with the depositary countries, but with all the 140 states participating in this treaty, Pavlinov said.

"Now, it is particularly necessary to support the treaty because we have entered the stage of real disarmament and any breakdowns in the non-proliferation process could affect negatively all the talks that are currently under way," Pavlinov emphasised.

During the recent consultations the sides considered tactical steps which the depositary countries could undertake to hold a conference in 1995 to decide for how long this non-proliferation treaty should exist.

The sides voiced support for the efforts of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the chief body monitoring the observation of the non-proliferation treaty. They also considered some regional non-proliferation aspects.

Pavlinov pointed out the responsible attitude of countries capable of developing their own nuclear weapons towards realising their scientific and technological abilities and their understanding that they would harm their own security, should they overstep a certain line. The countries that demonstrate such a sensible approach include Argentina, India and Brazil.

Nuclear-Free World Remains Soviet Objective

PM1201123190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences Colonel V. Chernyshev: "We Know the Way Out of the 'Nuclear Stalemate.' It was 4 Years Ago that the Soviet Union Put Forward the Program to Eliminate Nuclear Weapons by the End of This Century"]

[Text] Is it possible for mankind to return to the prenuclear age? It is, of course, impossible. It is only in works by bold science fiction writers like Isaac Asimov that people create "time warps" along which it is possible to travel backward and to "correct" the past and create the future. The reality of history is such, however, that even its darkest pages cannot be recreated or rewritten. For example, the world will never be able to forget the way nuclear weapons were created [sozdano]. Nor will it ever forget 23 April 1945, the day when U.S. Secretary of War H. Simpson [as published] and "Manhattan Project" chief L. Groves reported to U.S. President H. Truman on the state of work on the atom bomb. The entire report took 15 minutes, after which the new U.S. leader, who had only just moved into the White House, declared:

"The United States is taking on the leadership of the world. There can be no question of equal relations with the USSR."

Decades have passed since that time—years abounding in and dominated by the arms race. There were Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There was the Caribbean crisis, which almost resulted in a catastrophe for mankind. There was the U.S. nuclear superiority which time and again "fed" Truman's dream of "world leadership" to yet another occupant of the White House. This was followed by a sobering up—strategic nuclear parity between the USSR and the United States. Our country—devastated after World War II—found the energy, sought out the resources, created the potential for counteraction and proved that, contrary to Truman's wish, talks with it could be held only as between equals.

A new age began—the age of competition in the nuclear sphere. It must be bluntly said that there were more than enough initiatives on both sides as to who would overtake whom. Moreover, the most dangerous element was the confidence that, if the opposite side were overtaken, it would be possible to secure a potential win in a third—nuclear—world war, if it were to be fought. The opposite side was treated as the aggressor, and it was assumed that it would be dealt a counterstrike which would, in essence, mean a complete end to its existence.

But suddenly—"Stop!" A new stage in the development of mankind's self-knowledge: Could there be a victor at all? The scientists' answer was: The one to start the war, the one to "fire the first shot," would be the second one to perish. Did this mean that everything that had been done until then had been senseless? Did it mean that the 50,000 nuclear warheads stockpiled by both sides would

not provide a "win" for either of them? What was the way out of the "nuclear stalemate"?

Back in March 1983, Washington decided that there was a way out—the creation [sozdaniye] of some sort of "space shield" above the United States which would be totally impenetrable by Soviet missiles. This engendered a mass of projects, research, and even more emotions. Once again, for the umpteenth time, Truman's shadow rose: It was possible to "lead the world" from beneath the "shield," threatening it with the possibility of delivering a nuclear strike.

Once again, an insight. Estimates showed that it was impossible to create the "impenetrable shield" and that it would be only "partially effective." Official recognition of this reality followed: The joint Soviet-U.S. statement signed by M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan in Geneva in November 1985 says that there can be no victors in a nuclear war, that any USSR-U.S. conflict would have catastrophic consequences. Both sides emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They declared that they would not pursue the attainment of nuclear superiority. They agreed to speed up work at the talks on nuclear and space arms, with a view to performing the following tasks: preventing an arms race in space, ending the arms race on earth, limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and consolidating strategic stability.

But all this was still not the answer to the question about the possibility of creating a nuclear-free world. The answer came from Moscow. It was, of course, not a matter of returning to the prenuclear age but of taking consistent steps in the postnuclear world with due consideration for all of history's lessons and the experience accumulated by mankind.

And so it was 4 years ago—on 15 January 1986—that a statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was published, outlining a package of major, principled, and long-term political actions. The main one among them was a specific program, calculated over a certain period of time, to eliminate nuclear weapons completely all over the world. The Soviet Union proposed stage-by-stage and consistent actions to implement and complete the process of ridding the earth of nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

There were numerous "in-house oracles" in the West which hastened to declare that the Soviet program was utopian. But it was not just a matter of the concept of a nuclear-free world being met head-on by committed opponents of disarmament—primarily forces building their own prosperity on the arms race. It was the effect of the mental inertia which had prevailed for decades: Many people had come to believe the dangerous myth that nuclear weapons help to preserve peace.

Nonetheless, Western politicians were forced, willy-nilly, to seek an answer to the USSR's initiative. It seems to me that the well-known U.S. observer L. Gelb provided the most accurate description of the prevailing situation. The United States and its European partners, he wrote, now must for the first time make a choice which they had tried to evade for decades: Did they want a world without nuclear weapons, or did they want to stop pretending to strive for that and continue to base deterrence on the threat of a nuclear strike?

"Will the new Soviet attempt work after all previous ones have failed?" That was the question asked by an NBC-TV anchorman. Britain's THE TIMES, commenting on Washington's official reaction, noted: "In a cautious and carefully worded statement, R. Reagan welcomed the Soviet plan for stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons and promised to discuss it in detail with the NATO allies. This response reflects, more than anything else, the U.S. Administration's desire to create, at home and abroad, an impression of a positive response to the USSR's initiatives."

The first major practical step along the avenue of real nuclear disarmament, a landmark along the path to a nuclear-free world, was the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles at the Washington summit on 8 December 1987. Let me remind readers that the Soviet program envisaged the total elimination of USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe at the first stage. More was achieved, however—accord was reached on the elimination of not only medium-range but also shorter-range missiles, and not only in Europe but also in Asia, implementing the so-called "double zero option." What some people were trying to present as utopia even shortly before had acquired tangible outlines.

The USSR and the United States fully completed the destruction of their shorter-range missiles and launchers in 1989. By 31 December, in compliance with the treaty, the Soviet Union had eliminated 1,498 intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and 555 launchers for such missiles. The United States had destroyed 451 missiles and 92 launchers.

Now it is already clear that the first step in the process of eliminating nuclear weapons will soon be followed by a second step on a larger-scale: It looks as if a Soviet-U.S. treaty on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms will be signed in the new year.

This 50% reduction of strategic nuclear arsenals will indicate the fulfillment of the second element of the first stage envisaged by the 15 January program. What will this new agreement bring? According to the latest official data (for 1988), the USSR had 2,494 strategic delivery systems and around 10,000 nuclear charges, while the United States had 2,260 delivery systems and 14,000 to 16,000 nuclear charges. The future treaty's provisions already agreed in Geneva envisage that upper limits of 1,600 delivery systems and 6,000 nuclear combat charges will be set for each side. Thus, the reductions will really be on a large scale!

The Soviet Union also perceives the question of tactical nuclear weapons, the problem of terminating nuclear

tests, and the task of ending the production of fissionable materials for the creation [sozdaniye] of nuclear weapons as components of the program that it has put forward for the elimination of nuclear weapons. On 11 April 1989, the Warsaw Pact countries called on NATO states to start separate talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. At the May 1989 NATO council session in Brussels, the Western states expressed agreement in principle to such talks.

Positive results also have been produced by the USSR's attempts to move the question of terminating nuclear tests from deadlock. Bearing in mind the fact that the United States makes the possibility of terminating tests conditional on progress in other disarmament spheres, the Soviet Union expressed readiness to agree on a stage-by-stage solution with the United States on a bilateral basis. Verification protocols to the hitherto unratified Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes and Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests to a Threshold of 150 Kilotons have already been agreed at the talks on the limitation and termination of nuclear tests. At the next stage, the sides will move on to elaborate further interim limitations on nuclear tests along the path to the ultimate goal of their complete termination.

Regarding the talks on ending the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons, unfortunately no positive response has been forthcoming from the Western countries so far. It must be pointed out, however, that this question is being discussed in the United States. In July 1989, the House of Representatives appealed to the administration to reach accord with the Soviet Union on terminating the production of such materials and gave instructions to elaborate recommendations for technical facilities concerning the verification of a potential agreement's observance.

Thus, summing up the results of the past 4 years, it can be confidently said that much has been done. But there must be no underestimation of the resistance from conservative forces in the West which, while operating backstage, are doing everything possible to hinder any accord. Clearly aware of the full complexity and difficulty of advance toward a nuclear-free world, our country still proceeds from the premise that the struggle to implement the action program put forward on 15 January 1986 is the core of foreign policy.

Batsanov Says Chemical Weapons Forum Planned

LD1201165290 Moscow TASS in English 1639 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Virtually all serious obstacles have been removed from the path towards the working out of a convention on the complete and universal ban on chemical weapons. The convention is now being discussed at the Geneva conference on disarmament. This was announced at a news conference here today by Soviet delegate to the conference Sergey Batsanov.

The Soviet diplomat noted that a majority at the talks expected the convention to be completed within the next 18 months. The text has largely been agreed, but there is a number of technical matters that have to be resolved before it can be signed.

Batsanov praised bilateral Soviet-American contacts dealing with the chemical weapons ban. These contacts were substantially intensified following the meeting between Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker in Wyoming last September. During their meeting an intergovernmental agreement and a memorandum about data exchange and a verification experiment were signed. They envisage a two-stage exchange of data about Soviet and American chemical potentials, inspection of chemical weapons stocks and production facilities and visits to industrial enterprises.

The possibility for advancing new joint Soviet-American initiatives aiming to considerably speed up the working out of the convention is now being studied, Batsanov said. The United States have proposed the conclusion of an agreement on a substantial reduction of chemical weapons stocks by both countries. The Soviet Union in turn proposes to agree not only on reducing stocks but also on eliminating them, as well as on the renunciation of chemical weapons production and use even before the convention is in force.

These proposals will be considered at the forthcoming meeting between Eduard Sshevardnadze and James Baker in Moscow, Batsanov said.

Moiseyev To Address Confidence-Building Forum

LD1501103990 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—"I'm very pleased that the Warsaw Treaty states initiative to discuss the NATO and Warsaw Treaty military doctrines will be realised at a representative international seminar," Chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces Mikhail Moiseyev told TASS in connection with an international seminar on confidence-building measures and security in Europe to be held in Vienna on Tuesday.

General Moiseyev plans to address the forum to clarify the Soviet military doctrine.

According to the general, the very fact of a meeting in Austria of general staff chiefs, other military representatives, diplomats and scientists from 35 states shows that not only political but also military relations have entered a new stage.

"Its essence is that international politics now centre not on what divides peoples and states but on what unites them," Moiseyev said.

New political thinking now determines the Soviet foreign policy, he continued. The most important ideas of this thinking are based on the recognition of the priority of world-wide values, rejection of war as a means of

conducting politics, the senseless nature of the arms race and the need for new approaches to ensuring international and national security.

"No state can any longer be fully confident of reliable protection relying only on military means," Moiseyev noted. A nuclear war would doom human civilisation and destroy all life on earth, he stressed.

The general added that the current major changes in the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries are taking place under the conditions of full freedom of choice by peoples of their road and modern methods of building a new humane and democratic society.

"At the same time it is very important that the Warsaw Treaty countries have confirmed their allied obligations under the treaty which was of stricly defensive nature since its very inception (May 14, 1955)," he stressed.

In his opinion, the Warsaw Treaty, a guarantor of peace in Europe, should turn from a military-political alliance into a political-military alliance.

Moiseyev noted with satisfaction that, judging by the NATO December communique, the NATO alliance has also begun this work.

"An appropriate structural reorganisation of the two alliances to lend them additional political character will help create adequate conditions which could considerably bring down the military potentials of the opposing armed groups in Europe and all over the world," the general said.

Talks on Troops in CSSR Scheduled for 15 Jan

LD1201185190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] It was announced in Moscow today that Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on the question of Soviet troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia are to open in Prague on 15 January. The talks will take place in line with the agreement recently concluded in Moscow by Federal Premier Marian Calfa.

Military Project in CSSR Halted

LD1401061790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Colonel Stanislav Pohoral, the press spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, has reacted to numerous questions from the inhabitants of Olomouc and its vicinity concerning the deforestation of the Jedova Hill in the Pohorany area for the purpose of constructing a military installation for the Central Group of Soviet troops. He was empowered to state that the prepared action had been halted as early as June last year, following an agreement with the Soviet side. At the same time, he assured the Czechoslovak public that the agreement was being observed and that the concern raised was unjustified.

Colonel Cited on 'Reforger' Exercise Inspection

PM1201153390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel R. Yepifanov, leader of Soviet inspection group, by correspondent V. Litovkin: "No Violations, Soviet Officer Says"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A group of Soviet military inspectors which verified U.S. Army military activity on Belgium's territory has returned from that country. Our correspondent met with Colonel R. Yepifanov, leader of the Soviet inspection group.

[Litovkin] Roman Aleksandrovich, why was there a need for an inspection? Are there suspicions that our partners are not observing the Stockholm accords?

[Yepifanov] I do not like the word "suspicion." We use the term "doubt." Why is there any? I will explain with an example. With the adoption of our defense doctrine our Armed Forces involve 13,000 to 17,000 men in exercises. Some 50% of the time is devoted to rehearsing defensive tasks. Our troops operate only within the borders of existing testing ranges. They conduct maneuvers evenly throughout the year.

As for the military activity of the NATO allied armed forces, they [plural as published] often differ substantially in their parameters. Judge for yourself. The average number of troops is 26,000 to 29,000 men. Most of the exercises are concentrated in time and place, often on the very borders of socialist countries, which naturally arouses some wariness. The present "Reforger 90" exercises are the initial phase of the "Centurion Shield" strategic exercises. They encompass Belgium, the Netherlands, and the FRG and are held on the borders of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, with a total of 88,700 troops. These exercises cannot help but concern us, especially as U.S. strategic reserve units, which have arrived in Europe from America, are involved in them. So we wanted to see for ourselves that the composition and grouping of the transferred troops correspond with the notification that the Soviet side was given.

[Litovkin] What are the results of your observations?

[Yepifanov] The final results lie ahead, but I can say, as a first impression, that there have been no breaches of the accords. We visited the muster points after troops were landed from aircraft and ships—the areas around the port of Antwerp and Brussels airfield—the routes of advance, and the assembly areas, and talked with U.S. Army soldiers, sergeants, and officers. Our doubts regarding the thrust and purpose of their operations faded.

Houston Seminar Debates Disarmament, Conversion

PM1201144590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch under the rubric "Our Commentary": "'Rehearsal' in Houston"]

[Text] New York, 11 Jan—A 2-day international seminar on problems of disarmament in which military experts, scientists, and diplomats from 10 states participated has ended in Houston (Texas).

This seminar, held for the second time and organized by the Texas Institute for the Study of Defense Problems, made it possible to discuss in an informal atmosphere the state of the talks on nuclear and space arms between the USSR and the United States, the NATO and Warsaw Pact military doctrines, the prospects for mutual accords and for the the Vienna talks on reducing conventional forces and arms, as well as measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe.

The U.S. delegation at the seminar was represented by S. Hanmer, deputy director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; General J. Foss, commander of the Army Combat Training and Military Doctrine Command; L. Brooks, deputy head of the U.S. delegation at the talks on nuclear and space arms; and Lieutenant General D. Graham, retired, leader of the "High Frontier" organization in support of the SDI program. Participating in the seminar from the Soviet Union were Lieutenant General G. Starodubov, deputy chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, and a number of other representatives.

"In my view, the event organized by the Texas institute proved useful and interesting," Ye. Silin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, said in conversation with me. "We had an opportunity to ascertain the viewpoint of very influential U.S., European, and Soviet specialists, a number of whom have taken part and are now taking part directly in very important talks on security problems."

The seminar demonstrated the Americans' great interest in the problem of conversion—the switch from an economy geared to the arms race to a peaceful economy. The participation of representatives of Texan business and political circles in the discussions confirms that this problem is ceasing to be of a purely academic nature for the United States. The course of the discussion revealed that the Americans are interested in creating joint Soviet-U.S. conversion scenarios and in exchanging experience with regard to this problem. The idea of the need to develop new technology for destroying the accumulated arsenals of arms was aired. In the Americans' opinion, this topic is particularly urgent in connection with the problems which have come to light in the course of destroying intermediate-range missiles.

Business is business, and businesslike Americans are now seeking government orders for the technology to destroy weapons stocks with the same zeal with which they previously chased military orders. But the change in the focus of U.S. business acumen is, in my opinion, a sign of the times. The Houston seminar was a kind of rehearsal for the meeting on the problem of military doctrines which is to be held within the framework of the Vienna talks and in which the chiefs of the general staffs of the countries involved in the talks will participate.

Physicians Ask Gorbachev, Bush To Stop Nuclear Tests

LD1101210190 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—"At present there is no longer any logic to continue the perfection of genocidal weapons. The immorality of continuing nuclear test explosions undermines the new thinking required for humanizing international relations", says a message sent to Mikhail Gorbachev by Bernard Lown, USA, and Mikhail Kuzin, USSR, co-presidents of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War movement.

"If we are to heed your profound challenge not to take nuclear weapons into the next millenium we need to begin immediately with additional substantial steps. No single step will be as significant a clarion call for nuclear abolition as a new Soviet moratorium or a Soviet-American moratorium on underground explosions on the eve of your meeting with President George Bush."

On behalf of more than 200,000 doctors in the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, the authors of the appeal called upon the head of the Soviet state to declare a permanent ceasefire in nuclear testing. "Thereby future generations will mark this last decade of our ill-fated 20th century as a new beginning of a truly human world order," the appeal stressed.

A similar appeal was addressed to U.S. President George Bush.

Results of CEMA Meeting in Sofia Assessed

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Session

AU1601102690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 90 p 5

[Report on an interview with Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on 10 January in Sofia, by Atanas Atanasov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO foreign policy commentator: "All the Support Renewed CEMA"]

[Text] During the few moments between his numerous talks with the participants in the 45th session of CEMA, after completing the business discussion, the Soviet premier received me for a lightning interview. At the very beginning, I must point out his assessment that this session has a crucial importance as a turning point in further developing the international economic organization of the socialist countries in accordance with the program goals and tasks of the political and sociopolitical reforms that have begun in those countries.

What was the character of the discussion? It was a frank, sharply critical, but a constructive and fruitful conversation. Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out that on the eve of the session many contradictory forecasts about the future of CEMA were disseminated, including the rumor of its impending "collapse." The involuntary or biased interpretation of the statements of responsible state leaders in the CSSR, as the CSSR comrades pointed out at the session, contributed to the negative aberrations. I think that the basic conclusion that could be reached on the basis of the various statements is that all participants are "for" CEMA. They all understand that this organization is vitally important for our countries, and that it has no alternative. There was not a single statement to the opposite effect. Simultaneously, I must point out that all participants, naturally, in various ways and with different arguments, expressed the opinion that CEMA can no longer exist in its present form.

The comprehensive mechanism of the organization no longer corresponds to the categorical requirements of the socioeconomic reforms that are taking place in our countries. We became convinced of this when we worked out the program for improving our economy on the eve of the Congress of People's Deputies. During the process of working on the program, on the basis of profound research and analysis, we reached the conclusion that, even if the economic reform progresses with difficulties, it nevertheless advances, while in the sphere of our foreign economic relations with the socialist countries one cannot observe an adequate advance. Thus, it is imperative to effect fundamental changes in CEMA's structure, functions, and entire mechanism.

For about 3 years, after we started to deal with our foreign economic relations in a serious manner, we encountered great difficulties in the sphere of exports. Strict requirements have been imposed on enterprises and organizations to ensure the export of high quality and competitive goods. For this purpose, we intensified control and the appropriate sanctions, however, without adequate results. The main reason: The enterprises and organizations are not interested in sending their production to the international market. Now they have greater economic independence and thus have the opportunity to appear directly in the international market and deal with real foreign trade. Subsequently, the export indices have improved sharply. Even in this context, the country's leadership is subjected to criticism that we have "gone too far," and that certain restrictions to export are to be introduced to support the domestic market. In essence, this is a very positive phenomenon. We have found an appropriate mechanism which, to a significant and higher degree, encourages our enterprises and organizations from the various branches of the national economy to direct their efforts toward active and efficient exports. Obviously, we will also have to introduce a similar mechanism in our mutual cooperation. It will have a positive influence in qualitatively improving our economic trade relations.

In other words, we need a real market. The fact that an increasing trade exchange is taking place between our countries still does not mean that we have a market. The mechanism that applied until now used to predetermine the development of a mutual exchange of all kinds of production that appear in the plan, and the countries had to accept this. Does this correspond to modern requirements? In this manner we shall never be able to catch up with the developed countries. We must develop a powerful and active mechanism; this would force us all to work as we should.

This applies first of all to the USSR; it first must deliver the envisaged high-quality production according to the agreed terms and in line with the specified indices. In fact, all CEMA partners should trade in the same manner. It is obvious that, if we continue in the old manner, we shall reach a dead-end street.

Is there cause for optimism after the 45th session of CEMA? The affirmative answer can be explained by the unanimous opinion that was expressed, according to which everything in the practice of cooperation must change. Naturally, there are various nuances and differences in the approaches toward this goal; however, no division into blocs exists. Thus, the Cuban side expressed the opinion that the present status quo must be preserved and that we should not advance toward international prices in mutual payments. Let me reiterate what I stressed at the session, namely, that three countries—Cuba, Mongolia, and Vietnam—need a special approach, and we must seek appropriate solutions. This, however, does not mean that we should not also adopt general decisions on changes in CEMA's mechanism of cooperation. Naturally, we must help them; simultaneously, however, we must build new roads for further developing CEMA. This position was firmly supported by Mongolia and Vietnam.

Differences of opinion about the time frame for adopting the necessary measures emerged at the session. The opinion emerged that each country has specific conditions and characteristics, and therefore gradual reforms are necessary. Thus, for example, we did not adopt the task of destroying everything in 1991 and constructing a new CEMA "on the ruins." We must prepare and adopt fundamental decisions, think over, ponder, and assess everything, then advance on the basis of fixed stages, and thereby avoid economic crisis or similar developments.

I do not like pompous words, Nikolay Ryzhkov said in conclusion, however, I think that the 45th session of CEMA marked a sharp turning point in our development. The session really was a crucial one. Its decisions were prompted by life, which put us up against a wall. We must either choose energetic and efficient actions or remain in the same situation we have been in until now. Radical changes are taking place in our countries, and the fundamental renewal of our relations within the CEMA system will only guarantee the success of this process and accelerate its pace.

'Requiem' Fails To Materialize

PM1201132790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Kapralov dispatch: "Radical Renewal"]

[Text] Sofia—No CEMA session has ever mustered as many foreign journalists as the present one in Sofia. They were expecting a sensation: the dissolution of CEMA or a withdrawal from it by certain countries. This was expected all the more so since hints of this had appeared in the press. However, the "requiem" that was expected by some did not take place. The Sofia session turned out to be a breakthrough. It showed that, despite differences of opinion, a radically renewed CEMA will continue to live and work.

A commission was created at the session that will discuss proposals on fundamental questions of cooperation and will draw up drafts of basic documents. The results of its work will be presented to the group's next sitting in Budapest.

The world press is now highlighting the positive result of the meeting in Bulgaria between the CEMA countries' heads of government. The opinions of many mass media organs were expressed by the West German newspaper NEUE WESTFAELISCHE [name as published], which writes: "It would be desirable for the EEC to have a partner in the East in the form of an economic community of states. In that case the West and the East could build the 'Common European Home' more purposefully."

The political changes and economic reforms in the Soviet Union and East European countries, the session noted, are clearly at odds with the mechanism for the socialist countries' economic ties. Overregulated and frequently non-equivalent commodity exchange has become a hindrance.

Transfer rubles that are earned are a dead weight on enterprises' accounts, because in a situation where there is effectively no market, it is extremely difficult to "transfer" these rubles into commodities. In fact, there is an extremely bureaucratic exchange of one set of shortages for another, and every participant in the exchange believes that he is the loser. What is the way out? The session discussed the most acute problems.

"In order to turn cooperation within the CEMA framework into a powerful and dynamic economic factor, Bulgarian delegation head G. Atanasov said, "We need a new concept of the principles on which it is based. The economic interests and initiative of the commodity producers themselves must be the core of cooperation. Therefore the formation of a united socialist market assumes especially great significance today."

A market in which any goods can be freely bought and sold at prices close to world prices would be a real precondition for the convertibility of CEMA countries' currencies. But this is not a prospect of the very near future, all the participants in the Sofia meeting agreed. However, we must not wait passively for convertibility to arrive.

The Soviet Union submitted a proposal to start switching to world prices and settlement in convertible currency beginning in 1991.

Answering journalists' questions, Soviet delegation head N.I. Ryzhkov stressed that a phased approach is needed, otherwise the economy of a number of countries may be undermined. Some heads of government believe that the transfer will take around 3 years. This coincides with the Soviet viewpoint. Czechoslovakia says 5 years. A common foundation is being laid, but many specific conditions will have to be taken into consideration in bilateral relations.

It will be particularly difficult for Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia to transfer to the new settlement principles. Thus our Cuban comrades, while not objecting to the introduction of market elements, are afraid that the balance that they believe exists in trade between the CEMA countries and Cuba may be undermined.

For his part, N.I. Ryzhkov noted that Cuba receives a great deal of help via special prices for its output, for example, sugar. He agreed that unless some privileges are granted to this country, it may find itself in a complex situation during the transfer to convertible currency.

Well, I think the humane principle of helping weaker partners will remain in force. But the proposal to continue to pay for Soviet petroleum in unconvertible currency can scarcely expect to meet with understanding. The transition to the new principles of settlement, which is difficult and painful for everyone, must not take place at the expense of any one side.

Economic Reform in Socialist States Discussed

OW1401120490 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 16 Dec 89

["Article" by station commentator Latyshev from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, rapid social changes have occurred recently in countries like Bulgaria, the GDR, and the CSSR. Here is an article on this situation by our station commentator Latyshev:

Although the critical condition in these countries varies to a certain degree, the fundamental reason for the crises is the same: The societies can no longer exist in a way in the economic, social, and political realms that is incompatible with the kind of socialism the people understand.

Several days ago, Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, said: What happened in these socialist countries is the economic result of a certain stage, which enables these countries to understand that it is necessary to engage in reform.

Socialist countries, it appears, are accumulating new experience. The reforms in China, Hungary, Poland, and the USSR indicate that the socialist economy can develop smoothly only when producers can exchange their commodities with currency under favorable conditions. The socialist economy must be able to adjust itself and carry out continuous self-renewal to adapt to changing conditions.

Many socialist countries are moving in this direction. Some of them are establishing foreign exchange markets. Capital markets where such securities as stocks and bonds are negotiable have appeared in China, Poland, and Hungary. Some of them are establishing labor markets.

This renewal process among socialist countries certainly will affect their mutual relations. The mechanism of cooperation also cannot remain unchanged. While maintaining the economic policy already set by the departments concerned, it is necessary, in the first phase of the process, to improve the trade and currency relations and to coordinate the economic reform plan. The Council for Economic Mutual Assistance [CEMA] and the economic administration departments of all CEMA members are now actively discussing new forms of cooperation and the establishment of a united socialist market. Hungary and Poland, the vanguards of economic reform among CEMA members, advocate that, in addition to maintaining cooperation among CEMA members, it is necessary to make further progress.

Economic reform enables socialist countries to become more open and flexible economically, which, in turn, strengthens a trend of socialist integration. Things common to socialist countries, such as pressure from administrations, neglect of world prices, formalism, and bureaucracy have begun to disappear. Economic relations between producers and currency and foreign exchange markets have begun to appear. All of this will help make the process of the integration of the socialist economy more effective.

Perfilyev Gives News Briefing in Moscow 12 Jan

TIMES Arms Allegations 'Mischievous'

LD1201193490 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Allegations in THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper that the Soviet Union keeps huge stocks of armaments and fuel in Eastern Europe, despite withdrawing part of its troops from this region, are mischievous, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, said: "At the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, which resumed in Vienna today, the Soviet Union has called for the most sweeping cuts in armaments, including those in storage facilities, with respect to which the West's positions are more cautious."

THE NEW YORK TIMES article containing references to an intelligence report, appeared in the run-up to a seminar on military doctrines due to be held in Vienna on January 16-February 5, 1990. In this regard, the information "leak" can be seen as an attempt by some U.S. circles to conduct a kind of propaganda "target practice" ahead of the seminar which is meant to help the superpowers remove mutual suspicion and achieve a better understanding of each other's intentions, the spokesman said.

More on Claims of Arms Stocks

PM1501105590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by G. Charodeyev: "Why Force an Open Door?"]

[Text] A routine briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists was addressed by V.P. Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration. He described a recent publication in THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"The newspaper reported that the Soviet Union is allegedly leaving in East Europe 'enormous stocks of weapons and fuel' despite the fact that it is withdrawing some of its troops from that region. Here, references are made to a report prepared for the U.S. Government by intelligence institutions which points out that Soviet weapons stocks near Western borders remain at the 1989 level. What draws the attention is the fact that this became known on the eve of the seminar on military doctrines scheduled for Vienna from 16 January through 5 February within the framework of the talks on confidence-building and security measures in Europe. If this is how matters stand, it cannot fail to put us on our guard. After all, we see the main point of the forthcoming seminar organized at the initiative of the Warsaw Pact countries as helping to eliminate mutual suspicion and to achieve better understanding of each other.

"Now about the essence of the question touched on by THE NEW YORK TIMES: Arms in Europe are the subject of the talks under way. On their agenda is the discussion of the limits and storage sites for arms, the exchange of information, mutual verification, and many other aspects of this serious and broad problem. It is well known that the Soviet Union advocates at these talks the most radical reductions of arms, including stockpiled arms, with regard to which, incidentally, the West's positions are considerably more moderate. The authors of this report in THE NEW YORK TIMES are trying to force an open door here."

Baker's Planned February Visit

LD1201173190 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will pay an official visit to Moscow on February 6-7, 1990, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

During the visit, there will be a full-scale exchange of views on the entire spectrum of issues within the framework of the Soviet-American dialogue, Perfilyev said.

The visit to the Soviet Union by the U.S. secretary of state will be of great importance, for it will be the first after the Malta Soviet-American summit, the spokesman said.

The Soviet side expects that matters pertaining to the Soviet-American official summit in Washington in June this year will be discussed in detail during the talks. Instructions concerning preparations for the summit were given during the Malta summit.

During the forthcoming talks, the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state will consider in-depth matters of a military and political character connected with the finalisation of the work this year on a treaty on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States, as was agreed upon during the Mediterranean summit, Perfilyev pointed out.

The agenda of the talks will also include regional problems, Soviet-American cooperation in the humanitarian field, transnational issues, and bilateral cooperation, the spokesman said.

It is also planned to discuss specific matters connected with the development of Soviet-American trade and economic relations.

Afghanistan, U.S. Relations

LD1201172190 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Commenting on a recent WASHINGTON TIMES report that the United States is revising its policy vis-a-vis Afghanistan, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a

briefing here today that "signs are emerging that the Americans are gradually coming to accept Afghan realities."

The spokesman said that, judging by the newspaper article, the U.S. Administration was impelled to change policy due to the Afghan armed opposition's inability to achieve any military success in its confrontation with the Afghan Government.

"In the USSR's view, the essence of the Afghan situation is that the Afghans should be given a chance to handle their own affairs and foreign interference should be prevented," Perfilyev said.

"If the U.S. stance is really changing in this direction, this movement would be in keeping with the Geneva accords of which the United States is a guarantor," he added.

Perez de Cuellar Visit, Albania

LD1201191190 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Moscow January 12 TASS—"People in the Soviet Union welcome the forthcoming visit by U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to Moscow. They highly value his efforts to attain the lofty goals of the United Nations and find solutions to the most complicated problems facing the international community," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

He said that the U.N. secretary-general will arrive in Moscow this weekend and address the opening of the global forum of the environment and development for survival.

Perfilyev said that, according to an official U.N. spokesman, Perez de Cuellar expressed a readiness to discuss with the Soviet leadership Soviet suggestions on enhancing the authority and role of the United Nations, specifically those that were advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to the U.N. Headquarters in December 1988, and any other problems, including the situation related to Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

Responding to journalists' questions regarding the situation in Albania, Perfilyev said that "the Soviet Union does not have authentic enough information about current developments in that country because there are no normal inter-state relations between the USSR and Albania and Soviet mass media are not represented in that country."

A news conference was held within the framework of the briefing. Speakers included Igor Palenykh, who heads the USSR delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting and halting nuclear tests, and Sergey Batsanov, Soviet representative at the disarmament conference in Geneva.

'Future' of Troops in CSSR

LD1201164690 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Soviet-Czechoslovak talks on the future of Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia will begin in Prague on January 15 under an agreement reached during a visit to the Soviet Union of the Czechoslovak head of government Marian Calfa, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

The teams will be led by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov and Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Evgen Vacek.

The Soviet delegation will also include First Deputy Chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff Colonel-General Anatoliy Kleymenov, Deputy Finance Minister Vsevolod Sitnin and Commander of the Central Group of Troops Colonel General Vorobyev.

'Growing Support' for Helsinki-2

LD1201165690 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—"We are pleased that the idea of a European summit Mikhail Gorbachev suggested in Rome meets with growing support," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today. He thus commented on a recent speech by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the FRG who declared for a thorough preparation for the holding of a Helsinki-two meeting as early as in 1990.

The spokesman said that the changes now taking place in Eastern and Western Europe require a higher pace and deeper contents of the European process. "We believe that a Helsinki-two conference would give an impetus to the construction of the common European home in all its aspects."

PLO Mission Upgrade

LD1201163790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1543 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS)—"The USSR's agreement to the transformation of the representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Moscow into the Embassy of the State of Palestine stems from the Soviet Union's well-known assessment of the results of the 19th session of the Palestine National Council. During that session a new, realistic and constructive platform of the Palestinian movement was adopted and the State of Palestine proclaimed," Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, said at a briefing today.

The USSR, the ministry representative stressed, gives complete support to the PLO leadership's line and believes that the organization's role in a Middle East settlement and its participation at all stages of the peace

process are of exceptional importance. The decision by the Soviet side, he noted, reflects the level reached in Soviet-Palestinian relations and was made at the request of the Palestinian side.

Vadim Perfilyev reported that during a conversation held on 10 January with 'Ezer Weizman, Israeli minister of science and development [as received], on the role of the PLO in achieving a just peace in the Middle East, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze mentioned the decision by the Soviet side in the context of the efforts being made by the USSR with the aim of rapidly organizing talks between the sides involved.

No Israeli Consular Status

LD1201155690 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Reports circulated by some mass media about an intention to raise the status of the Soviet consular group in Tel Aviv and the Israeli consular group in Moscow to the level of diplomatic missions are groundless, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

He noted that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze informed Israeli Science Minister 'Ezer Weizman during their meeting on January 10 of the Soviet readiness to hold talks on adjusting the status of the Soviet and Israeli consular groups. This information was given in a report on the meeting between Eduard Shevardnaze and 'Ezer Weizman.

The spokesman said that expediency of such adjustment is explained by the fact that the sides have some questions about the functions of the consular groups, periods of their stay and their numerical strength.

TASS Reports on Perfilyev's 15 Jan Briefing

Crowe Remarks on Naval Talks

LD1501153290 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—There is growing awareness in the United States that it is important to open talks on the limitation of naval activity and the elimination of Soviet and U.S. naval tactical nuclear weapons.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev received this impression from a statement by former joint chief of staff of the USA, Admiral William Crowe. In a recent interview to THE WASHINGTON POST, the American admiral supported the idea of opening these talks.

The spokesman noted that the Soviet Union more than once posed to the U.S. Administration the question of including naval armaments on the agenda of the dialogue on arms limitation and reduction. This question was also raised at the Mediterranean summit.

"One would like to hope that the realistic approach of high-ranking American military, for instance, Admiral Crowe, will be reflected in the official stand of the U.S. Administration.

U.S. Treatment of Cubans

LD1501163990 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—"Continuing acts of provocation by U.S. troops against Cuban diplomats in Panama are an indication of gross violation by the United States of the basic norms of international law concerning foreign diplomatic representatives," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a press briefing here today. He commented on the repeated detention of the Cuban ambassador as well as three other Cuban diplomats by American troops in Panama on January 15.

"We again draw the attention of the U.S. Administration to the inadmissibility of violating respective provisions of the Vienna Convention guaranteeing personal immunity of diplomatic agents, who are not subject to arrest or detention in any form," Perfilyev said.

The United States should think twice about the consequences of these illegal actions, further aggravating the dangerous situation in the region, Perfilyev stressed.

Support for Afghan Rebels

LD1501163290 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—One of the main aspects of the national reconciliation policy announced by the Afghan Government three years ago today was the dialogue between the state and the field rebel commanders which aimed to enlist their cooperation in the coalition government bodies, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a press briefing here today.

Such bodies of local government have been set up in 1,500 villages in the country's 27 provinces. More than 50,000 members of various rebel groups voiced their adherence to the national reconciliation policy and shouldered the responsibility for the safety of the population in areas of their residence.

On the whole, already nearly two-thirds of the rebel commanders have renounced combat operations against the central government. Since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, 170 rebel groups have given up armed hostilities.

One of the chief obstacles to the full implementation of the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan, Perfilyev noted, is the unceasing support of Afghan extremists by a number of foreign states. The discontinuance of

outside assistance to the irreconcilable opposition could bring a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan substantially closer, Perfilyev stressed.

Red Sea 'Attacks' on Shipping

LD1501202990 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Moscow January 15 TASS—Oscar Fischer, foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union on January 19 to 20 at the Soviet Government's invitation, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said today.

Commenting on the attacks on the Polish ship *Boleslaw Krzywousty* and the Yugoslav ship *Kosta Stamenkovic* in the Red Sea off the Ethiopian coast, Perfilyev said the Soviet Union "resolutely denounces the piratic actions hampering free navigation in the Red Sea.

"In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the international community should not remain indifferent to such violations of international law.

"If the security of Soviet ships permanently sailing in that area of the world ocean is threatened, the Soviet Union will take necessary measures." [passage omitted]

Gorbachev To Address Environmental Forum

LD1501070290 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—An international congress, entitled "A Global Forum on Problems of the Environment and Development for Survival," opens in Moscow today.

It will be attended by over 1,000 parliamentarians, intellectuals, scientists and journalists from 82 countries.

The seminar will discuss ways to prevent a global catastrophe and exchange opinions on how to make earth a safer place to live.

U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev are expected to speak at the forum. It will end on January 19.

[Radio Moscow World Service in English at 1600 GMT on 15 January carries a report on the Global Forum on Problems of the Environment and Development for Survival. The radio announces that Gorbachev will address the forum on Friday, 19 January, and goes on to provide the following broadcasting plans:

["The global forum of spiritual and parliamentary leaders on human survival will then culminate in a 2-hour live television and radio broadcast via the networks Intersputnik and Intersat, bringing it to an estimated 2 billion people all around the world. Radio Moscow World Service is also participating in this broadcast, which will be on the air this Friday from 1830 to 2030 GMT.]

Perez de Cuellar's Visit Covered by TASS

Interviewed by Correspondent

LD1301003290 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] New York January 13 TASS—By TASS corespondent Yevgeniy Menkes:

"I know Moscow well and have met President Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders many times. These encounters were for me as a United Nations secretary-general, invariably of interest," Javier Perez de Cuellar told TASS on Friday.

The U.N. secretary-general is due to arrive in Moscow on Sunday, January 14.

Perez de Cuellar praised Soviet initiatives concerning the world community and, above all, the ideas voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev during his address to the United Nations on December 7, 1988.

"During my visit to Moscow before his appearance in the United Nations, we discussed many problems," Perez de Cuellar said. "Over the years of my secretaryship, your country was invariably consistent in supporting the United Nations. This support was important as an example for other countries to follow. Shortfalls in the work of the United Nations, if any, result from insufficient support by its members."

Speaking about the nature of the Soviet Union's present policy in the field of international relations, the U.N. secretary-general used two Russian words—glasnost (openness) and perestroyka (restructuring). The Soviet policy has become much more open, he said. "And we watch everything that your country has done to improve the international climate with great interest and approval," the United Nations secretary-general said.

Further on Interview

LD1301101290 Moscow TASS in English 0621 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] New York January 13 TASS—Moscow is a very familiar city for me. As you know, I have been an ambassador of my own country, Peru, there for three years. And since I am a U.N. secretary general I have been to Moscow many times. This was said in a TASS interview by the U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, who stressed the fact that he had meetings on a number of occasions with Mikhail Gorbachev as well as with other Soviet leaders. It was a very interesting experience for me as a secretary-general.

Perez de Cuellar is going to Moscow for several days, where he is going to take part in the global forum for

environment and development. He is expected in Moscow on the 14th of January.

The U.N. secretary-general praised highly the Soviet proposals regarding the international community, and in the first place, the ideas, formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in the United Nations General Assembly on the 7th of December, 1988. The support for the United Nations was a consistent policy of your country.

This support of your country is not only a very important contribution to the activities of the United Nations, but it is a very important example for the other countries. Because if we sometimes have shortcomings in the United Nations, it is due mainly to the lack of support from the members of the organization.

Speaking of the new international policy of the USSR, the U.N. secretary-general said: In this case we have to use two Russian expressions—glasnost and perestroyka. There is must more transparency in the policies of the Soviet Union as far as all international problems are concerned. And I have seen with great interest and sympathy all what has been done by your country to improve the international atmosphere. Nothing helps me more, than the possibility to work in an ambiance of relaxation. Earlier the lack of cooperation between East and West was certainly delaying the solution of many problems.

He welcomed the agreements on arms reductions between the USSR and the USA, such as INF Treaty and the planned 50 percent reduction of strategic arms. This is what we call at the United Nations "celestial music," he said jokingly, because that is exactly what we have been working for for many years. I am pleased with what has been done, but I think it is not enough. Much more efforts are needed to put an end to the nuclear threat. There will be an important meeting between the foreign ministers of the USSR an the USA and then a summit, which will also be very important. But I want to say again, that you should not forget the problems of the Third World. Because I don't think that you can live in peace while problems in the south continue to be as serious as they are.

U.N. secretary-general dwelt in detail on a number of regional conflicts. I would like to conclude some problems, which are already on my lap. It is the problem of Afghanistan, the problem of Iran-Iraq, the problem of Cyprus, the problem of Central America, the problem of Western Sahara and some economic and social problems. But where the United Nations can prove its efficiency is on global issues: environment, struggle against the drug abuse, terrorism, external debt and the economic problems of the whole world.

Javier Perez de Cuellar stressed the important role of the United Nations in the search for peace in the Central America. As far as the Iran-Iraq problem is concerned—it is a very complicated problem. I hope that your government will be successful in bringing the representatives of two countries together. And I am very pleased that your government has emphasized that these efforts would be undertaken within the framework of the Security Council's and the secretary-general's efforts. Touching upon the problem of Afghanistan, he expressed satisfaction with the cooperation he is getting from the Soviet Government and the Afghan authorities. He expressed the view that the Middle East problem would not be solved unless the international conference is convened.

Asked about his opinion of the processes going on in Eastern Europe, Javier Perez de Cuellar said that he is watching it with interest and sympathy. I am pleased that the evolution is taking place in a peaceful manner. I am always for everything which reflects the will of the people. The people must have the possibility to what they want to do, to decide who is going to govern them. The secretary-general expressed his belief that these countries will play an even more important role at the United Nations. He also expressed satisfaction with the fact that now the Security Council is much more active than a few years ago.

Arrives in Moscow 14 Jan

LD1401174990 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar arrived in Moscow today to attend a global forum on the environment and development for survival. The forum opens here on Monday.

Addresses Environmental Forum

LD1501131190 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar today called for coordinating the efforts of all states to preserve the environment. He addressed the opening ceremony of the global forum on environment and development for survival in Moscow.

About a thousand representatives of political and religious circles, scientists, journalists, artists, businessmen and students from over 80 countries attending the forum began discussions about the most pressing issues related to averting the ecological catastrophe threatening mankind.

Various approaches to this issue—economic, political and humanitarian—can be discussed, Perez de Cuellar said. But fundamental changes are also needed in the public's very attitude towards it. For these changes to take place, the whole world must focus on the pressing nature of a solution to this problem. He challenged the participants to think about mankind's future, the future of the entire globe, and not the future of any single

country. "We can no longer allow ourselves the luxury of putting off a solution to this problem," Perez de Cuellar said.

The speaker emphasised that the principle of collective security should become the pivotal principle of world politics and pointed out the need for specific actions in the political and military spheres and in the economy and social life. It is important to pay particular attention to all aspects of human activity, he stressed.

Perez de Cuellar noted the United Nations' important role in creating a system of collective security and stated that the world community should increase, rather than relax, efforts to protect mankind's interests.

Perez de Cuellar said that urgent measures were needed. He emphasised the importance of developing national programmes for environmental protection and respective work at the international level under U.N. auspices.

It is important to realise that the signing of an agreement is not enough. States should pursue a coordinated policy in this field. Perez de Cuellar noted the need to develop North-South cooperation and ecologically safe technologies and aid developing countries. He called for drastic transformations in those industries that cause the greatest harm to nature.

Received by Shevardnadze

LD1501200190 Moscow TASS in English 1928 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar met today. Perez de Cuellar arrived in Moscow for the global forum on environment and development for survival.

Special attention was given to the United Nations' growing role and responsibility in the rapidly changing situation.

The Soviet side noted that the eighties saw a transition from the cold war to a new peaceful period of world development, opening an opportunity to get rid of the nuclear and ecological menace and crisis phenomena in the world economy.

The necessary conditions are forming for turning the United Nations into a strategic centre for the consolidation of peace among nations, cooperation and stability.

The United Nations secretary-general emphasised the importance that new political thinking, the ideas Mikhail Gorbachev set out in his United Nations address, have for the improvement of the international situation.

Ushering in a new decade, the United Nations should concentrate on current global problems and on the enhancement of its peace-making role. It should prove that it is an effective instrument of international cooperation.

There was a substantive discussion about assistance to the United Nations in solving crises and conflicts in various districts. The Afghan theme was thoroughly discussed. It was suggested that an international consensus should be formed regarding a political settlement and the need to create an effective mechanism for negotiation and to intensify the efforts regarding domestic and foreign aspects of the problem.

It was emphasised there is a need for vigorous actions by the United Nations and all parties concerned to stimulate the quest for settlement in Cambodia, Central America and Cyprus.

The two leaders noted that the initiatives by the Soviet Union and the United Nations to advance the Iran-Iraq negotiating process are in one and the same direction. There is a similarity in approaches with regard to the United Nations potential and its Security Council in connection with the Middle East settlement.

Perez de Cuellar expressed support for democratic changes in Eastern Europe, due to which old fears and hostility, predominant for decades, began to disappear.

Both sides noted that these changes should be thoroughly analysed and that the policy of all states should be adjusted accordingly on the basis of the preservation of international stability.

Shevardnadze said that the arrival of the United Nations secretary-general and his participation in the global forum on environment and development for survival are favourably received in the Soviet Union.

"We highly appreciate your contribution to the achievement of the lofty goals of the United Nations, to the quest to solve the most important problems encountered by the world community. The Soviet Union will continue to support all the positive undertakings of the United Nations and its secretary-general," Shevardnadze told Perez de Cuellar.

Specialist Questions Foreign Aid Strategy

PM1101144590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Ye. Arefyeva, leading scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute: "Secret Line in the Budget. A Specialist's Thoughts on One Sphere of Our Foreign Relations"]

[Text] The union budget for 1990, adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, was published recently. One of the biggest classes of expenditure, which accounts for R26.4 billion of R200.9 billion, is headed as follows: "The Financing of Foreign Trade, Expenditure on State, Banking, and Commercial Operations, the Rendering of Free Aid to Foreign States, and Other Expenditure Connected With International Relations." The very fact that this information has been published is undoubtedly

a step forward. But how can we assess the amount of expenditure in this class? Is it excessive or, on the contrary, inadequate?

Unfortunately, all of us who have not been present at the Supreme Soviet committee sessions have to make their judgments on this from indirect data alone. For example, we can conclude from the discussion of the budget at the joint session of the two chambers that a considerable proportion of expenditure in this class—something in the region of R10 billion—represents economic aid to developing countries. It is also well known that the free transfer of resources has been cut by one-quarter in the new budget, or by R600 million. But neither the structure of this expenditure nor its purpose was discussed at the joint session.

In other words, deputies voted in favor of allocating expenditure totaling R26.4 billion for the class of expenditure as a whole without questioning (with the exception of Deputy N.P. Shmelev) the advisability of this expenditure. At the same time, they did not begrudge the time and effort spent on the lengthy, fruitless process of trying to find money in the budget to cover increased expenditure on social development, equivalent to R2.4 billion. They came up with all kinds of proposals—raising the price of tobacco, beer, and some other goods, abandoning the state acceptance system, and increasing the amount of money issued—but they never considered taking a closer look at the class of expenditure designated "The Financing of Foreign Trade."

It seems that this is no accident. The amazing delicacy with which deputies approach the sphere of international relations was in evidence here. There was no such discussion at the open joint session. It is only to be regretted that the Foreign Ministry, which, I deeply believe, is in the vanguard of perestroyka and has great influence on the process of imparting rationality to our approach to internal affairs, is showing such reticence on the question of glasnost in relations with the "Third World." But, to this day, it is precisely the notion of some secret foreign policy priorities in our relations with developing countries that fetters any discussion of the question of economic aid.

Meanwhile, no one has yet proved that expenditure on aid to developing countries is geared to rationally selected political or foreign economic objectives. But, without this, how is it possible to approve the diversion of such vast sums of money from the budget?

Moreover, whatever the foreign policy tasks, the very structure and forms of economic aid could either help to strengthen the Soviet Union's international positions or, on the contrary, weaken them. I think that even a cursory discussion in the Supreme Soviet of the structure of expenditure on economic aid would cast doubt on the advisability of a substantial proportion of this expenditure. This applies primarily to the financing of trade price increases and concessions. Excessively low prices for exported oil and excessively high prices for imported sugar and nickel, for example, belong to this category of concessions. According to CIA estimates, these concessions taken as a whole account for 75 percent of all aid to its biggest recipients, such as Cuba, for example. According to other Western estimates, our trade concessions account for one-quarter of all Soviet aid to the "Third World."

The fact of the matter is that these sums of money are not just deductions from our meager resources. They also represent a real obstacle to the Soviet Union's joining international economic organizations such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), membership of which would be of unquestionable benefit to us in international economic relations. From the viewpoint of such financial organizations as the IMF and the IBRD, trade price increases do not come under the category of aid, and their existence does nothing to enhance our image as a "donor" country. Only one-third of the amount we officially declare to the United Nations is recognized as real aid by international standards.

As far as GATT is concerned, concessions and price increases are generally unacceptable measures, as they signify arbitrarily high prices for major consignments of goods with no regard for the situation on the world market, which could result in the destabilization of that market. Developed countries which belong to GATT believe that, with the aid of such means of regulating bilateral relations, we are seeking to gain advantages in reciprocal trade: We either set the prices of our exports too high or we gain monopoly access to the markets of the countries concerned.

Whatever the case, this form of aid is exceptionally contradictory, and reducing it would allow us to secure considerable savings. The ministries concerned—the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations—would be the first to feel the results: the positive international political response and additional resources for developing effective exports and imports.

I would particularly like to dwell on another aspect of this aid: military supplies. According to Western assessments, these supplies account for 180 percent of our economic aid (for comparison purposes: in the United States the proportion is 60%). Since we began our conversion program, which means that orders from the military department also must be cut, the world has been intently following the dynamics of Soviet arms exports. After all, in the past we have been a major arms supplier to developing countries. Everyone probably agrees that arms exports are not the most moral exercise and that this kind of "commerce" is completely at variance with our country's adopted policy of resolving regional conflicts.

We also need to decisively review our aid strategy and abandon economically unsubstantiated forms of aid because there is a whole series of gaps in our foreign

economic relations that are not backed up by resources. Perhaps there are no such gaps within the framework of the aid itself, but it would be useful to redistribute part of these resources in favor of purely humanitarian aid. In the modern world, all states allocate resources to aid certain countries or resolve certain problems. Even Bangladesh, for example, has managed to find the funds for a symbolic contribution to the emergency aid fund for Afghanistan set up by the United Nations.

But, in addition to aid to developing countries, the class of expenditure called "The Financing of Foreign Trade" also could include other very large items that are very necessary to us today. Take, for example, the financial base for the perestroyka of foreign economic relations: Even just measures to stimulate exports and encourage foreign investors to engage in joint enterprises within the Soviet Union require considerable expenditure if this is then to be reflected in improved standards of living. Funds are needed, for example, to set up special institutions offering credit and insurance facilities for Soviet businesses abroad and foreign ventures in the Soviet Union, to train cadres, exchange information, support the export industry, and much more.

It is quite possible that Western estimates are pitched too high or that the forms of aid mentioned here are included in other classes of expenditure in the budget. In any case, including such a very generalized class of expenditure in the budget, vaguely breaking it down into paragraphs, and then giving the "grand total" of R26.4 billion should have prompted closer scrutiny on the part of the Supreme Soviet. Of course, we must trust the recommendations of the International Affairs Committee, but only after hearing cogent arguments to support these recommendations and convince us that these major financial outlays are economically and politically acceptable.

United States & Canada

Bush Insists on Need for 'Strong America'

PM1401193390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "From Old Positions"]

[Text] Washington 13 Jan—On Friday U.S. President G. Bush delivered a speech to the Cincinnati (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce which is being assessed here as a response to the calls for sharp reductions in military expenditure in connection with the positive changes in the world.

"In recent months," the president stated, "we have witnessed joyous changes inspiring new hope for international peace. We live in enthralling, interesting times. And we are pleased at what is happening in central Europe. But just as 6 months ago it was impossible to predict these enormous changes, today it is impossible to say what will happen in the next 6 months, not to mention the next 6 years. No matter how glad I am that the changes will lead to a more peaceful Europe, America must remain strong. And a strong America needs not only a strong economy, it continues to mean powerful defenses in a state of combat readiness."

"I welcome the changes in Eastern Europe," G. Bush continued. "I firmly support M.S. Gorbachev's perestroyka and his commitment to the cause of peaceful change, openness, and glasnost, but now is not the time to naively abandon the muscles of our defense."

No USSR Arms Concessions for Economic Aid

LD1401134490 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 14 Jan 90

["Moscow Viewpoint" by Valentin Zorin]

[Text] In their recent article carried by the newspaper WASHINGTON POST Roland Evans and Robert Novak commented on the American policy in relations to talks over 50% reduction in offensive strategic weapons. The authors of the article write that Mikhail Gorbachev is interested in the economic aid from the West and the American Administration therefore, as they believe, should slow down its work on the agreement in order to obtain more concessions from the Soviet Union.

This statement seems to me rather odd, for the Soviet side repeated on many occasions that the Soviet Union needs no American economic aid. If Evans and Novak did not know about that, THE WASHINGTON POST editors certainly did. The newspaper itself reported about one episode confirming this. Covering the meeting between the American Secretary of State James Baker and the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Wyoming the newspaper reported that Mr Baker has asked the Soviet foreign minister if the United States could do something to relieve the economic difficulties experienced by the Soviet Union. THE WASHINGTON POST quoted Eduard Shevardnadze as replying that the Soviet Union must cope with its economic difficulties on its own without waiting for anyone's help, including that of the United States. The Soviet minister said that measures employed in the economic or political fields should be mutually advantageous and should not bear the nature of any aid. During the meeting off Malta and on several other occasions President Bush commented with satisfaction on that stand of the Soviet Union.

I think, writes Valentin Zorin, that the approach to the issue of Evans and Novak, who proposed to trade economic aid for concessions regarding the agreement on offensive strategic weapons reduction, dubious and immoral. After all, the Soviet Union and the United States are both equally interested in signing the agreement that would provide for a 50% cut in offensive strategic weapons. Under this agreement, in reply to the elimination of American missiles targeted on Soviet cities, Soviet missiles targeted on American cities will be eliminated. In this situation why should one side make more concessions than the other? Do the lives of millions of Americans threatened by nuclear missiles cost cheaper than the lives of millions of Soviet people? And isn't it ridiculous that the authors of the article published in THE WASHINGTON POST view such serious questions as the searches of an agreement on the curtailment of nuclear arsenals from the position of a certain bargaining? They speak about the trump cards that Washington allegedly has.

I think, writes Valentin Zorin, that both Evans and Novak who contribute their articles not only to THE WASHINGTON POST but to many other American newspapers as well, still remain under the spell of the past stereotypes. Now that the Soviet Union and the United States are developing the relations of cooperation and mutual coordination the readers expect journalists to demonstrate a more objective and sober approach.

Cheney Cited on Pentagon Staff, Spending Cuts

PM1601111390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Switching from Words to Deeds?"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Jan—U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney has announced a decision to implement measures over the next 5 years to regulate the system of military purchases and reduce the Pentagon apparatus. In his words, these measures will make it possible by the end of fiscal 1995 to release 42,000 military and civilian specialists and save $39 billion.

In the very next fiscal year the Pentagon intends to release 16,000 employees. The "clear-out" of the Defense Department's apparatus, UPI notes, is to supplement the 30,000-man reduction in U.S. Armed Forces personnel which, it is expected, will be included in the draft federal budget for fiscal 1991. The President is to submit this draft to Congress on 29 January.

"Changes in the character of the threat to international peace and the real situation involving the federal budget dictate the need to reduce military spending in the years ahead," Cheney stated. At the same time, he stressed that in his opinion such reductions must be achieved at the expense of appropriations for the administrative apparatus. "But not at the expense of those resources allocated to military building and the combat readiness of the U.S. armed forces."

The measures announced by R. Cheney to regulate the activity of his department were formulated on the order of President Bush. That order was given in February last year after revelations of wheeler-dealing by subcontractors and staffers at the Pentagon.

Soviet-U.S. Joint Aircraft Project Viewed

PM1201134190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 8

[Report by V. Chebakov under the rubric "Top Secret": "Piper-Su in Smolensk"]

[Text] In the world today there are 229,000 flying civilian aircraft. Of these 90,000 are produced by the U.S. Piper Aircraft Corporation company. Its owner, Stuart Miller, paid a business visit to the Soviet Union recently. With M. Simonov, general designer of the experimental design bureau named for P.O. Sukhoy, L. Serykh, director of the Smolensk aircraft plant, and V. Laptev, administration chief of the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry, he signed a protocol of intent in the field of the development and production of light passenger aircraft.

"In the past 52 years," Stuart Miller said, "my firm has produced 129,000 aircraft. Piper is known throughout the world as the producer of light general purpose aircraft with 4-8 seats. We have been lucky: At the end of the summer of last year we met with Boris Rakitin, director of the experimental design bureau named for Sukhoy plant and then with other representatives in the United States. This Soviet design bureau has enormous manufacturing potential. It has created two outstanding aircraft—the Su-27 fighter interceptor and the Su-26 sports aircraft. The Sukhoy design bureau and the Piper firm must pool their efforts and create a series of Piper-Su light passenger aircraft with 4-8 seats which could be successfully sold both throughout the world and in the Soviet Union. During our visit, we also visited the Smolensk aircraft plant and we believe that that enterprise can produce Piper-Su aircraft. I should add that it is not that often in my life that I have encountered hospitality of the kind with which we were welcomed in the Soviet Union. As for your aircraft industry's technical achievements, I never tired of admiring them..."

Everyone knows very well that small aircraft can solve the problems of transport in Siberia, the North, and the Far East. In the United States and Canada these problems were eliminated long ago. The market is provided with light aircraft whose pilots are often the owners themselves. Controlling these aircraft does not require such complex training as, for instance, for the control of an Il-86 or a combat fighter. It is true that that does not mean that in the USSR these aircraft will be sold to private individuals. Aircraft are a serious matter and do not forgive errors. And Piper's attitude toward these aircraft is very serious. Modern radar navigation equipment installed on them ensures the safety of flights under the most complex conditions.

"I had the opportunity to familiarize myself closely with the Cheyenne-400 aircraft produced by Piper," said Alekcey Komarov, chief of the Sukhoy experimental design bureau export department. It is a two-engine turboprop eight-seat aircraft. There is a crew of two. The navigation equipment package is very sophisticated—a radar, an autopilot, automatic long-range and short-range navigation systems, a navigation computer. These are not a tribute to fashion but a necessity. The aircraft are very economical and have a long life. That is why of the 129,000 Piper aircraft 90,000 are flying right now. But in addition to the transport problem there is one more argument in favor of developing and producing these aircraft—they ease the problem of training pilots for civil and military aircraft and engineering and technical workers. In the United States even 12-13-year-old children fly light aircraft. It is true that until they reach the age of 18 an adult pilot must be next to them to monitor them."

And now Mikhail Petrovich Simonov, general designer of the Sukhoy experimental design bureau and a USSR people's deputy, has his say:

"Questions of conversion, the easing of the load placed on defense plants by the development and production of combat weapons are in accordance today with the world situation and the line our party is steering. But because of conversion in a number of cases there may be a great reduction in the volumes of production, a decline in labor productivity, and a reduction in the financing of orders and ultimately in the working people's wages. The enterprises will begin to lose highly skilled workers and engineers. That cannot be allowed. What to do? Retain the level of production of combat equipment so as to protect cadres, or seek other ways? For instance, instead of combat or military transport aircraft, produce Il-96-300 liners. They are undoubtedly up to world standards today. And this must be done as resolutely as possible.

"Our civil aviation lacks large passenger aircraft. For instance, to go on a business trip to the United States you have to order a ticket nearly a year in advance. But it is also extremely difficult to get a ticket for Khabarovsk or Novosibirsk. I do not even mention destinations like Adler or Simferopol. Therefore those aircraft plants which have the potential to produce large passenger aircraft have a real path for effective conversion. But there are a number of plants which do not have this production potential. For instance, the aviation plants in Smolensk, Tbilisi,

Moscow, and a number of other cities. Therefore their leadership has asked us to help them switch to civilian production without reducing their technical standard or labor productivity but on the contrary increasing these indicators.

"Of course, carrying out conversion without allowing a slump in production volumes is no simple matter but you will agree that nothing can justify all other decisions leading to losses, a decline in labor productivity, and defense enterprises' loss of a substantial proportion of their intelligent workers and engineers. Losses are losses, and they are always at the expense of the people's prosperity and living standard. Thus, unless we can rapidly find an effective load we must look to see whether there is not a demand for civilian output in the West. To many people this question may seem implausible—there is unemployment there, the aircraft industry has enormous reserves, why should they link up with another country? But the high standard of the defense sectors of industry and their modern technologies and materials, as Stuart Miller noted, will make it possible to produce light aircraft in series and export them abroad.

"As is already known, we have sold two SU-26 sports aircraft in the United States. A contract has been signed for delivery to Spain. There are orders from Austria, Britain, Switzerland, and Italy. But we often say more than we do. It has turned out that we cannot satisfy all export orders. So plant director Rakitin and I have scrupulously investigated the shortcomings and reached the conclusion that if we exert ourselves and carry out some modernization at the plant we can sell twice as many Su-26 aircraft.

"In considering paths of conversion we tried to understand what kind of public demand there is in our technical field. And recently, in agreeing on the joint planning and production of the Gulfstream IV-Su supersonic business passenger aircraft with the U.S. firm Gulfstream aerospace corporation, we quite unexpectedly reached an interesting conclusion: In the world there is a sphere of civilian aircraft which have not yet been created at all. I have in mind small supersonic aircraft for 50 passengers with a range of 6,000-8,000 km.

"The result is that were it not for conversion and joint work with the Americans we would not have had this idea at all. A conference of 600 representatives of air transport companies held in the United States recently by Allen Paulson, executive director of Gulfstream, confirmed that Western air companies are in need of these miniliner aircraft. An enormous army of passengers anxious to cross the Atlantic quickly is obliged to wait 24 hours for a Concorde flight. And it must be said that all tickets for the supersonic liner are reserved far in advance.

"The creation of second-generation supersonic liners seating 200-300 passengers, upon which the Western firms are embarking, does not entirely resolve the question. If you need to reach urgently a remote city many thousands of kilometers away and in this connection you have chosen a supersonic passenger aircraft as your means of travel, you must consider that it cannot take off from every airport. These aircraft need a 'super' runway. Thus, if instead of one big supersonic liner you put six miniliners accommodating 50 people each on the line, then you would have to wait not 24 hours but a maximum of 4 hours for a flight. One more advantage: A runway 1,800 meters long is required for landing such a miniliner. That means that a supersonic aircraft of this class could link many, many cities by direct flights. Thus, having begun cooperation, we have come to an interesting topic. The production of S-51 miniliners will make it possible to produce them for rubles and when they are supplied abroad to receive currency which in turn can be spent on high-quality consumer goods for our people.

"Is that how you intend to get dollars for rubles?" I was asked in an interview by an INTERNATIONAL BUSINESSWEEK correspondent.

"But do you want us to continue making fighters for rubles? I answered her question with another. The reaction was a rather protracted silence. Not surprisingly, a miniliner of this kind cost $40-50 million on the Western market, yet it would cost us R6-8 million: over $6 a ruble!"

An interesting option for conversion, is it not? But there are others. Let us recall that in previous years the Yak-12 and AN-2 aircraft were created thanks to the work of our outstanding designers A.S. Yakovlev and O.K. Antonov. They provided transport for all our remote areas, air medical service, and agriculture. And the aircraft plants produced many thousands of them. Today there are no such aircraft and the north is "wingless," as PRAVDA wrote recently. In connection with this social order we have set about developing the S-80 twin turboprop aircraft with a load-carrying capacity of up to 8 tonnes and the 4-6 seat S-84 and their medical, emergency, and other versions for broad use in the national economy. Presenting range of models of light passenger aircraft—the S-80 and the S-84 and the supersonic S-21 business aircraft and the S-51 miniliner at the Paris air show, we want to receive an assessment of the modernity and standard of our plans.

All aviation journals have published analytic surveys and photographs of these models. The overall tone of quite numerous comments has confirmed that conversion in the USSR is not a propaganda ploy but a reality. The result of going to the air show has been two visits to our experimental design bureau by the leadership of well known U.S. aircraft firms. They have been persuaded for themselves that they can work with us because in terms of their standard of technology and production not only the design bureaus but also the aircraft plants are up to a high world level.

Now it is essential to implement the Soviet-U.S. accords and to supply our aircraft and engines for export. The economy will not wait. And in our view the options for conversion are very interesting.

Soviet-U.S. Environmental Protection Meeting Ends

LD1401070890 Moscow TASS in English 2317 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Washington January 13 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Stanislav Lunev:

Problems ranging from the preservation of microorganisms to solution of transnational problems of international cooperation in the area of ecology were discussed by the 12th session of the Soviet-American Commission on Cooperation in Environmental Protection that ended here on Friday.

At the session devoted to vital problems of cooperation among the two countries in the preservation of the environment, the Soviet delegation was headed by first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation Valentin Sokolovskiy. The U.S. delegation was led by administrator of Environmental Protection Agency William Reily.

In a TASS interview the head of the Soviet delegation said that the results of the session were quite successful.

He said that as a result of fruitful work of Soviet and American specialists who participated in the session new measures for environmental protection by the two countries have been endorsed and will be jointly implemented.

Sokolovskiy said American specialists are expressing the readiness to assist the Soviet Union in solving problems of environmental protection. But the solution of this question is now checked by U.S. legislation which does not permit the export to the USSR of a whole number of American technologies, including those related to environmental protection.

In a TASS interview, deputy administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Alan Hecht said that the session of the Soviet-American Commission on cooperation in environmental protection was very effective. He said that joint work at the session with Soviet specialists largely promoted the achievement of better mutual understanding between the two countries and the realisation of the complexity of the problems in the area of environmental protection encountered both by the United States and the Soviet Union.

China

Further on Deputy Foreign Minister's PRC Visit

Rogachev Interviewed on Visit

LD1201194290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Rogachev, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, has been on an official visit to Beijing. He met with a number of Chinese state and public figures. Comrade Rogachev granted an interview for Soviet television on the results of the visit:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Vladimir Kulikov] Igor Alekseyevich, this is your first visit this year to the PRC. As I recall, last year, at the end of last year, you were here to hold talks on the border. What was the purpose of the present visit?

[Rogachev] We have carried out a kind of inventory of what has been done by the two sides in the past 8 months, since mid-May last year when Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev paid a visit to China. I wish to say that there was complete unanimity between us in our assessments of the processes that are now under way in Soviet-Chinese cooperation. We, both sides, are trying to carry out exactly what was agreed by the top leaders of the two countries last year. Of course, we have certain difficulties, brought about by certain complications in the internal situation in the Soviet Union and in China. There are certain hold-ups. But I would like to say that as a whole the process is following a rising trend; it is a forward-moving process. And this of course gives rise to very great satisfaction, both for our side and among our Chinese comrades.

We agreed that in the near future there will be a whole series of further meetings at a high level. I refer primarily to a trip by Comrade Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, to the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Rogachev: Relations 'On the Rise'

LD1201214790 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Beijing January 12 TASS—The Soviet Union and China seek to strictly implement understandings achieved by the top leaders of the two countries last May during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev told TASS, Soviet television and Radio Moscow today.

Rogachev who was here on a three-day working visit, said that the regular consultations and meetings with Chinese partners, which were held in Beijing, concentrated on Soviet-Chinese relations.

"We and Chinese colleagues were unanimous in our assessment of the current changes in Soviet-Chinese cooperation," Rogachev stressed. Of course there are also problems caused by some difficulties in the domestic situation in the USSR and China," he continued.

But relations between the two countries, on the whole, are on the rise, and the two sides are satisfied with this.

"We agreed that in the near future there will be several new top-level meetings. I mean, above all, the trip to the Soviet Union by Premier Li Peng," deputy minister noted.

Asked to comment on publications in the Western and Japanese press concerning an "ideological dispute or

even a brewing break-off" between the USSR and China, Rogachev said as follows: "I saw such publications but, to my mind, their authors are guilty of wishful thinking. I even read articles predicting an 'ideological break-off' between the Soviet Union and China in the near future.

"This is a wishful thinking of some people who believe that the Soviet-Chinese rapprochement and normalisation of relations between them is a threat to third countries. There was and there is nothing of the kind.

"During our meetings, we did not raise and did not discuss ideological differences. I'd like to say at the same time that differences could be even between good neighbours. There is nothing dreadful about this.

"We are convinced that nothing can hamper the steady development of Soviet-Chinese inter-government cooperation."

Dealing with the Cambodian problem discussed at the previous consultations, Rogachev noted that there are now new factors in the Cambodia situation.

Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from that country, and various countries offered many proposals to step up the U.N. role in a Cambodian settlement.

The Indochinese countries positively responded to an initiative by the Australian foreign minister, providing for the U.N.'s active role in settling this regional conflict.

During consultations at the Chinese Foreign Ministry, the two sides agreed that the U.N. role in settling the Cambodian conflict should be great, important and active.

In addition, Chinese partners said that they are against the spread of the civil war in Cambodia and for a political settlement. They are against the use of military force to settle that country's problems, Rogachev concluded.

Ideological 'Rift' Denied

OW1401170490 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 14 Jan 90

[From the "World Today" program]

[Text] Concluding his 3-day visit to China, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev told the press that the USSR and China are making efforts to accurately implement the agreements reached by top Soviet and Chinese leaders during Gorbachev's visit to China in May 1989.

Rogachev said: We and our Chinese comrades have had a consensus of views in evaluating the development of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. Of course, certain complex situations do exist in the USSR and China. On the whole, however, the development of cooperation between the two countries is a successful one and it is rising vertically [zhi xian shang sheng de], to the satisfaction of both sides. We have agreed that a series of high-level meetings will be held in the near future. First of all, Premier Li Peng will visit the USSR.

Asked by the press to comment on the plethora of talk by the media in the West and Japan that ideological disputes—and even a rift—have occurred between the USSR and China, Rogachev said: I am aware of such talk, but I think the originators have substituted reality with wishful thinking. During our meetings we did not point out, nor did we discuss, issues concerning ideological differences.

Rogachev said: Differences can occur even between two good neighbors, but these differences are nothing to be afraid of. We firmly believe that nothing can stop the vigorous development of Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

Commenting on the Cambodian issue discussed in Beijing, Rogachev pointed out: A series of new factors have taken place around Cambodia. Vietnamese troops have been withdrawn from this country. Many countries have put forward proposals that the United Nations should play a bigger role in the settlement of the Cambodian issue.

Rogachev said: During our consultations at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we and our Chinese comrades unanimously agreed that the United Nations' mediating role should be an enormous, important, and active one. Moreover, our Chinese comrades also stated that a civil war should be prevented from occurring in Cambodia, saying that the Cambodian issue should be settled politically. China also opposes the use of force in settling the Cambodia issue.

Communique Issued

LD1201204290 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet Union and China have confirmed their wish to advance bilateral relations. This is stated in a joint communique summing up the visit to China by the Soviet deputy foreign minister, Igor Rogachev, who was received by the Chinese foreign minister, Qian Qichen. The parties pledged to abide by the agreements reached during last May's visit to China by President Mikhail Gorbachev. That visit signaled the normalization of relations between the two powers.

Commentator on Importance of Visit

OW1501164390 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Alekseyev commentary from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] We reported that Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev visited China last week and that during his talks with Chinese officials both sides expressed satisfaction over the development of Soviet-Chinese relations

following Soviet leader Gorbachev's visit to China last year. In this connection, station commentator Alekseyev writes:

It is not accidental that both Moscow and Beijing regard the summit meeting last May as the starting point of the development of Soviet-Chinese relations. The full normalization of relations between the USSR and China and the CPC and the CPSU is of historic significance.

I want to point out one special feature of the current Soviet-Chinese relations. Both Moscow and Beijing maintain that such relations should not be ideological. It is very important to consider the two countries' political realities.

Everyone knows that both the CPC and the CPSU are ruling parties sharing common ideologies. If nonideological principles are not determined, then any ideological difference will inevitably lead to a deterioration of state relations. That was specifically the case of the 1950's. Thus, I think the new principles that have been defined will serve as a new guarantee for the steady development of Sino-Soviet relations.

When Comrade Gorbachev was visiting China, both sides reached an understanding that communist parties should be independent, that each and every socialist country has the right to establish its own pattern, and that nobody should have the right to impose its will on any other. This is also the basis of current Soviet-Chinese cooperation.

I also want to stress that when Comrade Gorbachev was visiting China, both sides also concurred that the development of relations between the two countries should not be at the expense of the interests of any third country. The developments during the past several months show that this principle has been successfully implemented.

In my view, one other point is also very important: The continual development of Soviet-Chinese relations and the deepening of the two countries' understanding have become the basis of the sound development of the Asian situation. This has been proven by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev's recent consultative visit in Beijing. For example, both Moscow and Beijing reiterated their willingness to see that the Cambodian situation is normalized as quickly as possible; both sides maintained that the United Nations should play a positive role in ending regional conflicts and mediating ceasefires; and both sides also pointed out the important role played by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council in settling the Cambodian issue.

Li Peng Cited on PRC Return to 'Stability'

PM1201151990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Martial Law Lifted in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing—All the newspapers have carried a State Council decree bearing Li Peng's signature on their front pages. On Thursday [11 January], martial law is being lifted in Beijing. Late Wednesday evening, the premier appeared on television and said that "the lifting of martial law means that the situation in the capital and throughout the country is now stable, public order is back to normal, and a victory has been achieved in overcoming the riots and putting down the counterrevolutionary revolt."

Whatever the development of events in the world, Li Peng said, China will continue to follow a socialist path. The decision to introduce martial law on 20 May was timely, the premier continued, because the city was in a state of anarchy and a small group of people wanted to overthrow the people's government. The premier stressed that China is now stable politically, economically, and socially. He urged citizens to do their utmost to preserve the political atmosphere of stability and unity necessary for resolving the main tasks: economic recovery and a deepening of reform. The premier warned people that unstable factors are still present in China and that hostile forces inside the country and abroad have not relinquished their attempts to bring down the socialist system.

Tiananmen Square is busy today. For the first time in over 7 months, people do not need a special permit to come here: Subunits of the armed police left the square at dawn, to the flash of cameras. There are many visitors, as the railway station is not far away. Access to the foot of the memorial to the people's heroes is prohibited. It was here, incidentally, that the students set up their headquarters during those days in late spring-early summer. A great deal has happened in the time that has passed—just over 7 months—since martial law was announced in Beijing: turbulent demonstrations, barricades, burned-out vehicles, and tank tracks. Since dialogue was broken off in the skirmish between soldiers and the civilian population, the country has gone through the painful process of learning to breathe easily again....

Northeast Asia

Japan's Abe Arrives for Talks With Gorbachev

Abe Interviewed Prior to Visit

OW1301154490 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Announcer-read report on interview with former Liberal Democratic Party Secretary General Shintaro Abe by Tokyo correspondent Potapov at Abe's office in Tokyo; date not given]

[Text] [Announcer] An LDP delegation led by Shintaro Abe, a prominent activist of the Japanese LDP and former foreign minister, is scheduled to leave Tokyo for Moscow on 13 January. In addition to holding talks with a delegation of the CPSU Central Commitee, the LDP

delegation is to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and concurrently USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman, on 15 January.

Moscow Radio Tokyo correspondent Fotapov called on Mr Abe at his office in Akasaka and asked him the following questions in connection with his forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union:

Since the recording of this interview was transmitted by telephone from Tokyo, the reception is very poor, making it impossible to understand. For this reason, announcers will read Mr Abe's remarks in his place, so please bear with us.

First, Mr Shintaro Abe said the following in connection with the purpose of the LDP delegation's visit to Moscow:

[Male announcer] Because there have been no exchanges or talks to date between the LDP, which is in power in Japan, and the Communist Party, the ruling party in the Soviet Union, the forthcoming talks will be the first talks between the two parties. I think it is very good that the talks have come about. I will be heading the delegation which will be given the opportunity to meet with Chairman Gorbachev.

This is of great significance, coming on the eve of General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan next year, the first ever visit to Japan by a top Soviet leader. I think it will contribute to laying the groundwork for the success of his visit to Japan as well. What I want to tell General Secretary Gorbachev and other leaders of the Soviet ruling party during my upcoming visit to the Soviet Union is that Japan and our party support perestroyka, being carried out by General Secretary Gorbachev, and peace and disarmament which go hand in hand with it. We want them to succeed by all means. I want to convey our party's support and cooperation to them. I also want to exchange frank views on the world situation, particularly the Asian situation, and I want to discuss what roles the Soviet Union and Japan should play in that.

Thus far, relations between Japan and the Soviet Union have been stagnant, but we think that, in this new era of changes, Japanese-Soviet relations should be drastically improved. We also think that a very historic chance has come now. We think that we must exchange views frankly on what approach we should take toward improving our bilateral relations and make efforts.

[Question] Japan has expressed its willingness to help in the Soviet Union's perestroyka. In concrete terms, what does this mean?

[Answer] This has to be discussed with the Soviet side. We must listen to the candid views of the Soviet people about what kind of Japanese assistance is needed. In order for Japan to do what it can, the LDP would like to appeal strongly to the various sectors, the government, and the business sector. As a concrete example, although Japan had suffered much during the postwar period, it has now become an economic power. One of the factors cited for its success is management and quality control. I think such know-how contributed greatly to Japan's development to its present level. Therefore, providing Japan's know-how in raising productivity will be one form of cooperation, as well as inviting Soviet experts and sending Japanese experts. Our party would like to promote activities such as youth exchanges. Trade is now growing. From the point of view of wishing and hoping for the success of perestroyka, we would like to watch the growth of the Soviet economic development.

[Question] General Secretary Gorbachev has proposed the abolition of nuclear weapons by the end of the century. How do you appraise this?

[Answer] Former Foreign Minister Abe gave the following views: Because we have the experience of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the abolition of nuclear weapons is a fervent wish of Japan. We hope for real progress in the abolition of nuclear weapons, because this is a fervent wish of all mankind. We believe that U.S.-Soviet negotiations for that purpose and discussions with other nuclear countries, and bringing about progress under the consensus of abolishing nuclear weapons are the right things to do. Japan also must cooperate toward that goal.

[Question] How do you look at the future of Japan-Soviet relations?

[Answer] I think Japan-Soviet relations have a very bright future. This is because the Asia-Pacific region displays great energy in its march toward the future in the 21st Century. It is very powerful. It will develop significantly. General Secretary Gorbachev has admitted this fact. In this sense, I think there will be very bright prospects for cooperative relations between Japan and the USSR, because we are also neighboring countries. For this reason, I think we must seize this historical opportunity to resolve the pending bilateral issues, including the territorial question. It is important for both of us to strive to solve problems. I think it is necessary for us to strengthen the framework for cooperation, while we proceed with the solution of problems as we face a new era. I also think there are very bright prospects for this. Therefore, we would like to develop friendly and amicable relations different from those in the past with the USSR as a neighboring country.

Abe Discusses Ties

LD1501132690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 15 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party is in Moscow on a visit. Before his departure, Shintaro Abe, the delegation leader, an eminent figure and head of the party, gave an interview to our correspondent.

[Begin Abe recording in Japanese with announcer-read translation] I consider that Japanese-Soviet ties have very good prospects. The coming 21st century is sometimes called the century of the Asian-Pacific Ocean region, which will grow stronger and develop. As far as I know, this is what Mr Gorbachev considers, too. In this context I am very glad that contacts between the Liberal-Democratic Party and the CPSU are going to develop, and that, as head of the delegation, I am being given an opportunity to meet the head of the Soviet state. This is especially important in view of Mr Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Japan.

Above all, I would like to convey to the Soviet country that we wish success to the policy of perestroyka with all our heart.

We will also talk about the situation in the world, and specifically in the Far East, and about the role that Japan and the Soviet Union must play. Japanese-Soviet relations, in which it is necessary to open a new age, will also be discussed. We are being offered a historic chance to resolve the problems which stand between us. And we must make every effort to do this. [end recording]

Delegation Arrives

PM1501143390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Arrival in Moscow"]

[Text] A Japanese Liberal Democratic Party delegation headed by Shintaro Abe, prominent Liberal Democrat and Japanese parliamentary deputy, arrived in Moscow 13 January at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was met at the airport by V.M. Falin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; K.N. Brutents, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; L.N. Kravchenko, general director of TASS under the USSR Council of Ministers; and senior CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Ministry officials.

The welcome party included T. Muto, Japanese ambassador to the USSR.

Gorbachev Receives Abe

LD1501144890 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev met Shintaro Abe, head of a Japanese Liberal Democratic Party delegation, at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee headquarters today.

The two stated that a new important element has emerged in Soviet-Japanese relations—top-level contacts between the two countries' ruling parties.

The meeting took place despite the Communist Party chief's immense workload due to domestic developments during the crucial period of perestroyka. This attention highlights Japan's importance in the USSR's foreign policy.

Gorbachev noted that Soviet-Japanese relations lag behind the rapid changes around the world and especially in Europe and said that "there are some changes in these relations and these changes are not for the worse."

"The arrival of such an authoritative delegation, its stated intentions and the talks to be held in Moscow are yet another peak that we are scaling in order to see the vistas ahead more clearly." Gorbachev remarked.

A policy for decades to come is being shaped, he said. "We would like Japan to work in this field with the same dynamism it works in the economic sphere. The world can only benefit from this energy."

Gorbachev referred to the rich experience of recent European development. Europe, he said, not only realised the futility and danger of using power methods but is already looking for new forms of inter-state relations across the vast territory from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Asia has its own specific features. But the point at issue is to create a new environment, possibly during the next decades, that will make it possible to resolve peacefully all specific problems, Gorbachev said.

It is important to accept historical realities, rather than to force developments, he pointed out. All hard issues will then become a natural part of profound overall changes.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1330 GMT on 15 January broadcasts a report on the meeting between Gorbachev and Abe that is identical except for the following variation in the preceding three paragraphs:

[Asia has its own specific features, but its aims are fundamentally the same. But the point at issue here is to create a new environment, possibly during the next few decades, which will make it possible to tackle peacefully all specific problems.

[At the same time it is important to perceive the realities and how they have been formed during the preceding periods of history rather than to force the course of events. Then all difficult issues will become natural part of profound overall changes.

[Soviet-Japanese relations.... (rephrasing and omitting attributions to Gorbachev)]

Soviet-Japanese relations were viewed in terms of the improvement of the situation throughout Asia and East-West relations. Abe emphasised the importance of these processes for the success of Soviet perestroyka, something the Japanese people sincerely wish. Gorbachev reaffirmed his commitment to the concept set out in his statements in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk.

Its implementation has already improved the USSR's relations with big and small countries of Asia and Oceania. "We will continue to pursue this policy. It rules out any damage to Japan and counts on Japan's attention to Soviet interests," Gorbachev said.

The meeting was attended by the following officials from the Japanese side: Ito Soichiro, Obuchi Keizo, Kato Mutsui, Hanashi Nobuyuki, Yamaguchi Tochio, Otaka Yoshiko, and from the Soviet side: Aleksandr Yakovlev, Valentin Falin, Anatoliy Chernyayev, Vadim Zagladin and Karen Brutents.

In the one-on-one conversation that followed, Abe suggested an eight-point programme envisaging deeper ties in the economy, science and technology, exchanges between people, training schemes, the organisation of exhibitions and humanitarian relations.

Gorbachev noted that this idea will be received positively, and suggestions will probably be made in reply. All in all, it will be possible to rectify the fact that relations between the two neighbouring nations lag behind the requirements of the times.

About his forthcoming trip to Japan, Gorbachev said: "I hope nothing will interfere with it."

The Japanese public intends to launch a large-scale campaign to broaden bilateral relations in the run up to the visit, Abe said.

While retaining allied ties with the United States, Japan wants to establish proper cooperation with the Soviet Union based on the concept of the "expanding balance."

Abe handed a message to Gorbachev from Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. Gorbachev promised to send a reply and asked Abe to convey his greetings to the Japanese premier.

The proposal to establish regular contacts between the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party and the Soviet Communist Party was welcomed.

Tokyo TV Reports Gorbachev Meeting

OW1501112890 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] We have just received information on the content of the talks between Mr Abe and Mr Gorbachev.

At their talks today, Mr Abe extended another invitation to Mr Gorbachev to come to Japan next year. He said that when the cherry trees blossom, Japan is beautiful. He was thus asking that Mr Gorbachev visit Japan around April.

Mr Gorbachev responded by saying that he hopes nothing will hinder him from visiting Japan. He did not specify when he would arrive, but he showed strong enthusiasm with regard to visiting Japan.

Regarding the northern territories issue, which is the outstanding issue pending between the two countries, Mr Abe said that the two countries are now sitting together at the table and they have no other alternative but to pool their wisdom to try to solve the issue. He said that Japan wants to develop bilateral relations by cooperating with the Soviet Union in other areas as well.

Mr Gorbachev said: That is fine. I believe that your remarks will be received favorably by our side. Mr Gorbachev said: We are neighboring powers but, since our relations are not normal yet, we hope to consider your proposal and deal with it as we think fit. He thus showed a positive posture toward further improving relations between Japan and the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev Confirms Visit Plan

OW1501160990 Tokyo KYODO in English 1534 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 15 KYODO—Former Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe offered Monday to assist Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev with his economic reform program, signaling a shift in Japan's position that a longstanding territorial dispute first be resolved.

"Success of perestroyka (restructuring) is in the interest of Japan, Asia, and the entire world," Japanese officials quoted Abe as telling Gorbachev.

Abe, meeting with Gorbachev as a representative of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), made an eight-point proposal offering expertise in economic management and quality control, seen as being crucial to Soviet modernization.

During the 45-minute tete-a-tete in the Kremlin, Abe made only an indirect reference to the Soviet-Japanese dispute over four tiny islands occupied by the Soviet Union after World War II.

The disagreement over ownership of Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan islands and the Habomai group has kept the neighboring nations from concluding a postwar peace treaty, and has stymied expanding relations in other areas.

"There is a problem posing difficulties for the two nations. The only way to solve this problem is to use wisdom. There is no other path," officials quoted Abe as saying.

"At the same time, we should like to develop other aspects of bilateral relations," Abe was reported to have said.

Abe's offer marks a departure from the Foreign Ministry position that political and economic issues cannot be separated.

Gorbachev welcomed the new position. "You have not specified the 'difficult problem,' but I can surmise what you are referring to," the Kremlin leader was quoted as saying.

"I think this problem can be coped with as part of the natural flow of changes," Gorbachev reportedly said.

Abe, speaking in a satellite broadcast from Moscow, said, "I feel we have made a big step forward (on the northern islands). I felt Gorbachev has the will to resolve this issue."

Abe, on a five-day visit to Moscow as head of a seven-member LDP delegation, also said in the interview that Gorbachev praised Japan for "succeeding in becoming a nonmilitary state."

Gorbachev confirmed plans to visit Japan some time in 1991, adding that barring unforeseen obstacles, he would like to accept Abe's invitation to visit Japan in the spring, during cherry blossom season.

Gorbachev's Tokyo visit would be the first ever by a Kremlin leader.

Since 1945, four Japanese prime ministers have traveled to Moscow. The last two visits were by former Prime Ministers Yasuhiro Nakasone and Zenko Suzuki, to attend funerals for Soviet leaders.

Abe's meeting with Gorbachev was the first between the Soviet Communist Party and the LDP since the parties agreed to promote exchanges in December 1988.

Prior to the talk, Gorbachev greeted six LDP officials accompanying Abe. Abe is the former secretary general and is regarded as a leading contender to the Japanese prime ministership.

Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, in a comment from Warsaw where he was meeting with Polish leaders, said Gorbachev's visit would provide a "historic chance for normalizing Japan-Soviet relations."

"We will continue talks with the Soviet Union on resolving the northern territories issue in order to conclude a peace treaty," said Kaifu, who returns to Tokyo Thursday [18 January].

On regional security, Abe urged Gorbachev to help bring the historic changes taking place in Europe to Asia.

"Japan will do its part," Abe said, indicating Japan would help to resolve tensions between North and South Korea, and the conflict in Kampuchea.

Gorbachev said the Soviet Union plans to cooperate with countries in the region. He referred to a 1986 Vladivostok speech in which he outlined a new peace initiative toward Asia.

But Gorbachev also reportedly criticized Japan for failing to match its economic stature with political prominence, Japanese officials said.

"Some say that Japan-Soviet relations are lagging behind changes in the world .... [ellipses as received] Japan should match its economic exchange with equally active political contributions," Gorbachev was quoted as saying.

Communist Party Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev, with whom Abe met separately later, said he hopes to dispatch a mission to Japan in the near future to learn about the market economy.

Abe is scheduled to return to Tokyo on Wednesday after meeting with Yevgeniy Primakov, a speaker in a chamber of the Supreme Soviet.

PRAVDA Reports Gorbachev-Abe Talks

PM1601095390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev Meeting With S. Abe"]

[Text] M S. Gorbachev met with Shintaro Abe, head of a delegation from Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, at the Central Committee 15 January.

First of all the two men stated that an important new element has appeared in Soviet-Japanese relations: contact at such a high level between the two countries' ruling parties. It was also noted that the meeting was held despite the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's extremely heavy workload caused by internal affairs at this acute turning point of perestroyka. This attests to Japan's place in the USSR's international world policy.

M.S. Gorbachev, again drawing attention to the way Soviet-Japanese relations have lagged behind the turbulent changes in the world and particularly in Europe, pointed out at the same time that some aspects of these relations are changing—and not for the worse. The arrival of such a prestigious delegation, its stated intentions, and the talks which it will hold in Moscow obviously constitute yet another peak which we are climbing together and from which we will be able to see what lies ahead more clearly.

Policy is now being shaped for the decades ahead, he continued. And we would like Japan to participate in this with the same dynamism which it adopts in the economic sphere. The world could only benefit from this.

M.S. Gorbachev referred to the very rich experience of European development recently. There has not only been a recognition of the futility and catastrophic nature of the use of strong-arm methods, but a specific quest for new forms of interstate relations over an immense area—from the Atlantic to the Urals—is already in progress.

Asia has its own features. But the principle thrust is the following: It is a question of creating a new environment—perhaps over decades—which will make it possible to peacefully resolve any specific issues. And it is important to accept realities as they have been shaped

during past history, and not to force the pace of events—then all difficult issues will become a natural part of the profound overall changes.

Soviet-Japanese relations were examined in the context of improving the situation throughout Asia and East-West relations as a whole. S. Abe stressed the importance of these processes for the success of perestroyka in the USSR, which, as he put it, is something the Japanese sincerely desire.

M.S. Gorbachev reaffirmed his fidelity to the concept set forth in his speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. Its implementation has already borne fruit in the USSR's relations with the largest countries and other countries of Asia and Oceania. We will continue to implement this policy. It rules out any damage to Japan and is aimed at ensuring that Japan too does not ignore Soviet interests.

The meeting was initially held between the delegations. Taking part on the Japanese side were: Soichiro Ito, Keizo Obuchi, Mutsui Kato, Nobuyuki Hanashi, Toshio Yamaguchi, Yoshiko Otaka, and Hiroshi Oki; and on the Soviet side: A.N. Yakovlev, V.M. Falin, A.S. Chernyayev, V.V. Zagladin, and K.N. Brutents.

In the subsequent one-on-one talks S. Abe proposed for examination an entire eight-point program envisaging a deepening of ties in the sphere of the economy, science and technology, exchanges between people, training of specialists, and the organization of exhibitions and humanitarian relations.

M.S. Gorbachev expressed the opinion that it would meet with a positive response and that proposals in response could follow. And all this put together could help to remove the abnormal situation whereby the development of relations between two large neighboring states lags behind the demands of the times.

Touching on the question of his forthcoming visit to Japan, he said: I hope that nothing will prevent it. On the eve of my visit to Japan we intend, as S. Abe put it, to extensively develop our activity to expand bilateral relations. While retaining its allied ties with the United States, Japan, in his opinion, wants to properly cooperate with the Soviet Union on the basis of the concept of an "expanding balance."

S. Abe conveyed a message from Japanese Prime Minister T. Kaifu. M.S. Gorbachev promised to send a reply. He asked for his greetings to be conveyed to the prime minister.

The proposal for regular LDP-CPSU contacts also met with a positive reception.

Abe Meets With Yakovlev

LD1501172290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1636 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan [TASS]—A conversation between Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the delegation from Japan's Liberal Democratic Party led by Shintaro Abe took place here today. An interparty dialogue about developing links between the CPSU and the LDP, and Soviet-Japanese relations, was continued in a constructive atmosphere.

Japan's Kaifu Cited on Claim of 'Expansionism'

LD1201154790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 12 Jan 90

[By TASS commentator V. Golovnin: "Why Does Tokyo 'Not See the Fruits of Perestroyka in Asia'?"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] It came as a surprise to many people that Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, who is now touring Europe, announced during a meeting in Paris with French President Francois Mitterand, that Tokyo apparently regards itself as a "victim of Soviet expansionism." He backed up his words with a claim to the effect that the policy of perestroyka that Moscow is conducting "has found no embodiment in Asia." Explaining the prime minister's words to journalists, Japanese representatives have noted that Kaifu was referring to the notorious "territorial problem" that Tokyo perceives in its relations with the USSR.

The prime minister's latest statement is certainly not just a piece of political improvisation or a chance slip of the tongue. Throughout recent times Japanese leaders have on more than one occasion repeated verbatim the formula drafted by the country's Foreign Ministry of "the absence in Asia of the fruits of perestroyka and the policy of new thinking" that is being conducted by the USSR.

They have been reiterating it even after the destruction, now under way in the eastern part of the Soviet Union, of 436 intermediate and shorter-range missiles in accordance with the IMF treaty; after the announcements about the continuing withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia; and after the official announcement of the reduction by 200,000 men of the grouping of Soviet troops in the eastern part of the country, including 120,000 in the Far East of the USSR. In its assessments, Tokyo prefers to turn a blind eye to the fundamental change in the situation in Asia following the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and the activation of the process for reaching a political settlement in Cambodia. Needless to say, it is not a matter of being badly informed or of lacking experience in international affairs.

By talking about "the continuing cold war in Asia" and "Soviet expansionism" in that part of the world the Japanese leadership is clearly trying to justify the absence of any shifts in its own foreign policy strategy, which is largely cut out from patterns that are at least 10 years old. It still seems to influential forces in Tokyo, apparently, that the old structure of a rigid confrontation between East and West "benefited Japan," which, in exchange for its unreserved support for Washington's

anti-Soviet line, used to be treated indulgently by its U.S. allies as regards the bitter economic rivalry between the two countries. But the main thing is that Tokyo has now ended up as a kind of hostage to its own hardline, compromise-spurning policy toward the USSR, the heart of which has now come to be the claims to a part of the Soviet Kuril Islands.

As a result, Japan has in many respects been cut off from the rapidly developing process of "building bridges" between the socialist and capitalist countries—which cannot fail to worry Tokyo. Prime Minister Kaifu's current trip to a number of countries in West and East Europe is a frank attempt to state Japan's participation in the intensifying international dialogue. However, it will not be easy to accomplish this task if there is still an attempt to "turn a blind eye" to the policy of new thinking that is being conducted by the Soviet Union.

Boris Yeltsin Arrives in Japan for 10-Day Visit

Japanese Spokesman Comments

LD1301100790 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Tokyo January 13 TASS—Commenting on the forthcoming visit by Soviet parliament member Boris Yeltsin to Japan, Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman Taizo Watanabe told foreign correspondents that Yeltsin will arrive in Tokyo on January 14 at the invitation of the TBS television network and a number of other private organisations.

Watanabe said that the Soviet deputy wants to meet Japanese political figures, including Prime Minister Toshiku Kaifu and Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama.

However, the spokesman said, Kaifu and Nakayama will not be able to receive Yeltsin due to "purely objective difficulties" as they are now beyond Japan.

"Apparently, this issue may be settled only after their return from the foreign trip on January 18, when the programme of Yeltsin's stay in Japan will be practically over.

"As far as we know, he is going to meet also the leaders of various opposition parties, which will require a certain time too," Watanabe said.

"I know that Yelstin has expressed the wish to meet the country's leadership, but we cannot say anything definite yet as we should think what we can really do within the framework of his visit," he said, adding that this "does not mean that we reject his request from the outset."

Lectures To Focus on Perestroyka

OW1401054590 Tokyo KYODO in English 0505 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Tokyo, Jan. 14 KYODO—Boris Yeltsin, the radical Soviet reform leader, arrived in Tokyo Sunday for a 10-day speaking tour in Japan.

Yeltsin, former Moscow party chief and now a member of the Supreme Soviet, will make a speaking tour in Sapporo, Osaka and Hiroshima.

The main theme of the Yeltsin lectures is expected to focus on the Soviet "perestroyka" reform policy and Soviet-Japanese ties, organizers of the trip said.

Organizers said they are also arranging meetings with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama during his stay in Japan.

Yeltsin has set up meetings with Japanese opposition and business leaders.

The main sponsors of the Yeltsin trip include Tokyo Broadcasting System, the national daily MAINICHI SHIMBUN, and the Foreign Ministry-affiliated Japan Society for Promotion of Japanese Diplomacy.

Yeltsin, leader of the radical reform group within the Supreme Soviet, made a highly publicized visit to the United States last September and met with President George Bush and other U.S. Administration and congressional leaders.

Queried on N. Territories, Domestic Issues

OW1501151790 Tokyo TBS Television Network in Japanese 0930 GMT 15 Jan 90

[News report program containing an interview with Boris Yeltsin, deputy to the Supreme Soviet and leader of the Soviet reformist group, who is visiting Japan, and comments by reporter Tosho Koike from Moscow; the interview was conducted by TBS newscasters Kazuo Hiromoto and Takae Migumo at the TBS studio in Tokyo on 15 January—Yeltsin speaks in Russian, with Japanese translation given either in subtitles or by the announcer; portions on Yeltsin's and reporter Koike's remarks recorded]

[Text] [Newscaster Hiromoto] Mr Boris Yeltsin, leader of the Soviet radical reformist group, who is visiting Japan, made specific proposals on the northern territories question in an interview with TBS today.

In the interview, Mr Yeltsin said that the Soviet Union must alter its past position on the northern territories and admit that the territorial problem does exist between Japan and the Soviet Union. Mr Yeltsin, suggesting a series of steps for resolving the issue, proposed that the four northern islands be made free economic zones. Mr Yeltsin has been visiting Japan since yesterday to exchange views with Japanese representatives of various circles on pending Japan-USSR issues, including that of

the northern territories, and on the future course of Japanese-Soviet relations. Today, after touring Tokyo city, he came to TBS and granted us an interview. On the northern territories question—the question of most concern to us—he expressed the view that the Soviet Union must first alter its attitude of the past that there is no territories question between Japan and the Soviet Union. He said the following:

[Yeltsin] [Video shows Yeltsin seated in studio, speaking] The Soviet Union must first admit that this issue does exist. Only then can we foster a climate favorable for resolving this issue.

[Hiromoto] Then Mr Yeltsin made a new proposal concerning the four northern islands.

[Yeltsin] The second step would be to make all four islands free trade zones. A free trade zone means a place where both Japanese and Soviet enterprises can freely engage in business activities and exchanges.

[Hiromoto] We can say that Mr Yeltsin's remarks on the northern territories fall far short of Japan's demand that the territories be returned totally and immediately. The Foreign Ministry, which was asked to comment on his remarks, said that they are his personal view and there is nothing to comment on. Saying there is nothing to be happy or sad about, the ministry maintained its cautious stand. But the fact that Mr Yeltsin clearly acknowledged the problem as an avoidable major issue has an important meaning. His comments, coming from an influential deputy to the Supreme Soviet, can be said to be significant in that concrete steps were mentioned.

[Newscaster Migumo] Mr Yeltsin was asked about the mounting ethnic unrest which could undermine Gorbachev's position in governing the Soviet Union. A report has arrived from our man in Moscow, Tosho Koike, on the nationalist movement in Azerbaijan, which claimed dozens of lives in recent riots. Please hear his report first.

[Reporter Koike, from Moscow] [video shows Koike initially standing in front of an unidentified building, in the snow, and then cuts to scenes of unrest, apparently primarily in Azerbaijan] The trouble in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku was triggered by the shooting to death of an Azerbaijani by a Armenian during the day. When the news reached 500,000 other Azerbaijanis who were staging a rally in Baku, it started a chain of ethnic violence during the night. Parts of Baku are reported to be in total chaos as mobs went on a rampage. The situation in Azerbaijan has taken a serious turn. On 14 January, Central Committee candidate member Mrimakov was sent into the republic, and the (Dzerzinskiy) Division, a special security force under the Home Affairs Ministry, has been dispatched to reinforce security. President Mikhail Gorbachev visited the Baltic Republic of Lithuania just recently to try and dissuade Lithuanian nationalists from seceding from the Soviet Union. And now Gorbachev is pinched from both sides as unrest spreads in the southern Caucasian republics including Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia.

[Yeltsin] The progress of perestroyka has awakened the Soviet people to political and ethnic awareness, but it has also brought about some negative aspects. The ethnic problem of today would not have occurred if the political, economic, and social autonomy of the republics had been respected sooner.

[Hiromoto] In addition to such ethnic problems, there is mounting discontent within the Soviet Union over the economic reform deadlock. TBS asked Mr Yeltsin's opinion on whether General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev could retain power and continue to exert strong leadership.

[Yeltsin] Gorbachv had the people's support only for the first 2 years; now, he has lost his freshnesss and personal appeal. The Soviet economy, the Communist Party, and society are all teetering at the edge of a cliff. The situation is such that next few months will determine the fate of the country. However, I can rule out the possibility of Gorbachev being overthrown by a military or a KGB coup. Even the conservatives see merit in letting Gorbachev hold on to power, but Gorbachev has to watch for big movements from below. I am talking about miners' strikes and ethnic clashes, and these movements have already started.

Proposes Solution for Territory Dispute

OW1601112790 Tokyo KYODO in English 1107 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Tokyo, Jan. 16 KYODO—Soviet reform advocate Boris Yeltsin on Tuesday advanced a step-by-step process to resolve the northern territories issue but left the option of returning the islands to Japan to a future generation.

Yeltsin proposed joint business ventures and demilitarization of the four disputed northern islands over the next two decades to pave the way for their possible return.

Yeltsin, a leading advocate of reform in the Supreme Soviet Parliament, set forth his ideas in a press conference at the Japan National Press Club on the second day of a 10-day visit to Japan.

While stressing that the territorial question "could not be solved in one fell sweep," he also rejected a "hard-headed" stance as unprofitable.

As a first step, Yeltsin urged a public statement by the Soviet Union admitting that a territorial dispute between the two nations exists.

Such a statement should come within the year, or on the occasion of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan in 1991.

The islands would then be gradually opened to Japanese investment in the following three to four years with demilitarization of the islands to occur within another five to seven years.

Such measures, Yeltsin predicted, would lay the groundwork for a clear statement from Japan that it would be ready to sign a peace treaty upon the return of the islands sometime around 2010.

A new generation of leaders in both countries would then be able to explore different options for the islands in a changed world political climate.

While leaving a final decision on the fate of the territiories to future leaders, Yeltsin surmised that future politicians would likely discuss options including joint control and outright return in reaching a final solution to the dispute.

Kremlin leaders are thought to believe a return of the islands in the near future would set a precedent and add to separatist pressures from the Soviet Union's component republics.

Yeltsin said he could not say who would lead the Supreme Soviet in its fall session and criticized Gorbachev for not granting increased autonomy to the republics earlier.

Commenting on a recent trip by the Soviet leader to the Baltic Republic of Lithuania, Yeltsin said the split of the Lithuanian Communist Party from the national body should have been recognized in order to defuse a divisive conflict.

The reformist said the "tragedy of the Baltics" was that they were leading the perestroyka or restructuring process but that the nation was not adequately prepared to deal with them.

Patience, perseverance, and increased autonomy could solve the disputes in the Baltics and other republics, he said.

Pressures for "bottom-up" democratization from the people, he said, could either progress in a civilized manner similar to most of East Europe or devolve into civil war. To handle such demands, Yeltsin called for full-scale, radical reform measures, criticizing the present course as makeshift and reactive.

Soviet conservatives have hit Gorbachev from the other side, calling for a retrenchment of his suggested reforms, which they say threaten to lead the country into chaos.

Yeltsin advanced several proposals to increase political and economic freedoms which he said would make the Soviet Union into a federation of cooperating republics. Moscow's tight central control of activities in the republics, he said, was an affront to their pride.

Yeltsin is to travel on Wednesday to Sapporo on the northern island of Hokkaido which borders the disputed territories. Meetings with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama, and Japanese opposition and business leaders are also included in his schedule.

Ulaanbaatar Demonstrators Oppose Leaders, Party

LD1501151190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0330 GMT 15 Jan 90

[From the "120-minutes" program]

[Text] A large meeting organized by Mongolia's Democratic Union has been held in Ulaanbaatar. Those taking part opposed command-administrative methods of the leadership, which were named as the main reasons for the republic's difficulties.

The speakers criticized the country's present leadership, and called for limitations on the role of the party in the life of society. There were also demands for Tsedenbal to be put on trial. There was a particularly vigorous discussion over why a monument to Stalin still stands in the capital.

The meeting was sanctioned by the authorities.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze Discusses Prospects for Cambodia

OW1301045990 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The text of the remarks made by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze during an interview with SAPORAMEAN KAMPUCHEA has been published in Phnom Penh and Hanoi.

Asked about the prospects for a settlement of the Cambodian issue, the Soviet foreign minister pointed out: Realistic conditions now exist for a balanced [junhengdi] settlement of this issue. Vietnam has already withdrawn its troops from Cambodia. In addition, Indonesian Foreign Minister Alatas has suggested that another meeting on Cambodia be held in Jakarta with the participation of all the antagonistic parties in Cambodia, ASEAN and the countries of Indochina, and France. Thai Prime Minister Chunhawan has also put forward a proposal for a ceasefire in Cambodia and the elimination of foreign military aid to the parties to the conflict. Finally, Australian Foreign Minister Evans has suggested that the UN role in mediating the Cambodian issue should materialize.

Shevardnadze also pointed out the constructive stance of the Cambodian Government, which values the suggestions put forward by these countries.

The Soviet foreign minister pointed out that an early settlement of the Cambodian issue will have a positive effect not only on the situation in Southeast Asia, but also on the overall situation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Paris Meeting May Revive Conference on Cambodia

PM1101134790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "Cambodia: In Search of a Settlement"]

[Text] Paris—It has been announced in Paris that a meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the UN Security Council's five permanent member states will be held here 15-16 January in order to look for ways to solve the Cambodian conflict.

Elysee Palace press spokesman H. Vedrine said that the meeting is being summoned in Paris at the request of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze.

The urgent convening of the Paris meeting is connected primarily with the marked activation of the Khmer Rouge detachments, which mounted an offensive against Battambang, Cambodia's second city.

The deputy foreign ministers will examine all recent initiatives for a peaceful settlement of the Cambodian problem and for an immediate end to all military operations. In particular, there is the Soviet proposal on introducing a moratorium on military assistance to all Cambodian sides, a proposal which was supported by the United States as part of an all-embracing settlement but was rejected by the Khmer Rouge. There is also the so-called "Evans Plan" (named for the Australian foreign minister), which envisages UN participation in holding elections in Cambodia according to the "Namibian formula."

The present meeting may be an important step on the road to resuming the Paris conference on Cambodia held in August of last year, which drew up a mechanism for settling the conflict. French President F. Mitterrand recently made a similar proposal. "Only a global political settlement," he declared, "can restore sovereignty to Cambodia and identity and dignity to its people and protect them from all the dangers connected with a return to power by the Khmer Rouge."

After the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the Pol Pot supporters are again bursting to reach power and are trying at any price to ensure that they are included in the transitional government. Today the world public and political leaders are extremely alarmed by the Khmer Rouge's growing military activeness, deem it necessary to do everything possible to prevent the restoration of the genocidal regime, and advocate a speedy settlement of the Cambodian problem around the negotiating table. Local observers stress that in these conditions an important role can be played above all by the United Nations, particularly in monitoring the accords that are reached, in a cease-fire, and in holding general elections.

Officials Comment on Thailand Conference

LD1201201990 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Chiang Mai, Thailand January 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Chekhonin:

Former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has said here that the Malta summit will go down in the history of American-Soviet relations as a constructive step towards their development.

He is attending a conference dealing with prospects for the development of Indochina, a wide range of problems of the Asia-Pacific region, including the impact made upon the region by positive changes taking place in the world.

The meeting has drawn more than 50 foreign ministers, prominent diplomats, and public figures from 16 countries, including the Soviet Union.

American-Soviet relations are now broader, more versatile and stronger than ever before, Vance told TASS. This is of immense importance to the whole world. The initiatives proposed by President Mikhail Gorbachev have made a decisive contribution to the process of drawing the United States and the Soviet Union closer together, he said.

It is precisely to the Soviet president that the peoples of the world owe the new thinking and striving to reduce the arms race, Vance added.

He said he was an optimist and predicted that the Soviet and American leadership would not stop half-way.

In the interests of the peoples of two countries, the time has come to reconsider many old dogmas and unresolved issues to get out to the road of genuine mutual understanding, large-scale political, economic and cultural cooperation, Vance said.

Ever since the conference began, the delegates, apart from matters concerning the strengthening of peace and economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, focused their attention, on the policy of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and the developments in Eastern Europe.

There has been a lively discussion of the influence of these important processes on the political and economic situation in the world as a whole and in the Asia-Pacific region in particular.

The events in Eastern Europe inspire new hopes, Thai Prime Minister Chatchai said at the conference's opening ceremony on Thursday [11 January]. The dawn of a new decade promises many new things for the Asia Pacific region, he added.

The era of confrontation and military diktat is over, Chatchai Chunhawan said. Thailand can and must play its role in the field of arms control and arms cuts.

Thailand will not cease looking for ways towards a lasting and just solution to the Cambodian conflict. Following a settlement of the Cambodian problem, the Thai side would concentrate efforts on strengthening peace and stability in southeast Asia, he said.

While welcoming the first results of restructuring in the field of foreign policy, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and representatives of a number of other countries at the same time voiced misgivings that the establishment of a "united north" might lead to negative economic consequences to the countries of the Asia-Pacific region in view of wide opportunities opening up for western investments in Eastern Europe.

The results of today's session are being actively discussed in the lobby of the conference. "We in Japan actively support perestroyka launched by Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet Government," said former Japanese Foreign Minister Saburo Okita.

"Mankind has regained hope to survive in the nuclear age. The era of military confrontation and the threat of an all-out destruction is drawing to an end.

"On the economic front of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, one must realise that the problems that have piled up for decades are not so easy to remove within a space of several years. These difficulties are understandable and one should live through them," Okita told TASS.

Issue of U.S. Bases in Philippines Examined

HK1501064990 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Commentary by Anatoliy Aleksandrov]

[Text] Philippine President Corazon Aquino has formally announced that talks between Manila and Washington dealing with the military bases will take place in March and April this year. As everyone knows, the talks were supposed to take place last December; however, because of the rebellion staged by some elements of the Philippine Armed Forces, these had to be postponed.

The abortive coup d'etat produced a new dimension in relations between Manila and Washington, especially vis-a-vis the upcoming talks on the military bases. The Aquino government's request for American military assistance to quell the recent rebellion showed many Filipinos the result of allowing foreign military bases in the country.

People are now asking whether the Philippines has any guarantees that Washington will not mount an operation similar to that which it did in Panama. This is the gist of rumors in the Philippines in connection with what happened in Latin America. People are discussing what occurred in Panama, which also hosts American military bases.

Many Philippine analysts believe that the real motive for the U.S. entry into Panama was not to stem the tide of illegal drugs into the United States, but to set up a government which will help Washington maintain control over Panama even after the year 2000. Such an eventuality would apply in the Philippines, and rumors say that the United States has plans to intervene if the unstable political situation continues in the Philippines. This was stated in THE MANILA STANDARD.

The main question is: How can such a plan be carried out? Several people say such an eventuality will occur if the Aquino government decides to end the agreement between Manila and Washington regarding the matter of retaining the military bases. At such time American soldiers will be deployed, allegedly to protect the lives of Americans in the country, who will be seen to be in danger.

Meanwhile various Manila newspapers are airing their own scenarios. The BUSINESS WORLD says that as far as strategic importance is concerned, Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base are seen as more important to the United States than the Panama Canal. So it is only natural for Filipinos to be worried. Many Filipino politicians declare that countries in Asia and around the world view American military bases abroad negatively.

Recently, Washington sent a message to Manila, through its ambassador there, stating that the situation in the Philippines is different from that in Panama and that it will not employ military force here. Despite this assurance, many Filipinos are not convinced. THE MANILA CHRONICLE has said that recent events in Panama took place even as hopes were high for peace and stability during the new decade. The newspaper cited international initiatives dealing with the reduction of military forces, and concluded that the aggression displayed by the United States in Panama demonstrates it is stuck in its old ways.

Such a stance runs counter to hopes in the Asia-Pacific region for an end to tension and military confrontation. Therefore the retention of the American military bases in the Philippines will cause apprehension, which is why proposals are being made to turn these military installations into civilian facilities. Such calls for the peaceful use of these facilities is being viewed more favorably than the proposal to demand higher rental payments from the Americans.

President Aquino has said that in view of recent events in East Europe and the improvement of relations between North and South, alternative uses for the American military bases must be found. The president said that a commission to study alternative uses for the bases has been set up. Among the commission's 10 points is a plan to turn Clark Air Base into an international airport, and Subic Naval Base into a port area. Such a compromise should please those supporting the retention of the bases, as well as those opposing it. How these proposals will be implemented depends on the talks scheduled for March and April. Agreement on this must be reached to

please both supporters and opponents of the retention in the country of the American military bases.

Philippine National Budget for 1990 Surveyed

HK1401052690 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 12 Jan 90

[By Vasiliy Filipov]

[Text] Philippine President Corazon Aquino recently approved a national budget of 245.7 billion pesos for 1990. This is the highest annual budget in the country's history and reflects two main features: an increase in allocation for social work and devaluation of the peso as well as higher inflation.

In approving the annual budget, President Aquino stressed a reduction in unproductive ventures and increased allocation for education, health, social security, infrastructure and agrarian reform. However, 38 percent of the budget is also set aside for payments of foreign debts which now stand at $28 billion. Interest payments alone will take up $4 billion.

Meanwhile, the president also reiterated that the annual budget was drafted with the view to raising the country's gross national products for 1989, but the increase fell short of the target growth by one percent. Among the industries which fared poorly, it was mining, featuring chromite, copper, iron, nickel and others, which was the highest revenue earner. Another sector which performed badly was agriculture whose products are exported by the country. Economists attributed the poor record to lack of progress in the implementation of reforms, one of the foremost objectives of the Aquino administration. Reforms also did not receive widespread support, as demonstrated by events in the past year.

The coup d'etat launched by some elements of the Armed Forces of the Philippines further deteriorated the situation in the country. As a result, the recently-concluded national budget had to make up for the revenue losses caused by the coup d'etat. According to authorities, the rebellion cost the country 30 million pesos or one-third of the Aquino government's current budget.

Another factor which adversely affected the budget is the loss of potential business investors who now hesitate about pushing through with investments plans following the coup attempt. If they do push through their plans, foreign investments to the Philippines are expected to reach $1 billion. However, owing to the unstable political situation in the Philippines, foreign businessmen have either adopted a wait-and-see attitude or temporarily suspended their plans.

Meanwhile, the tourism industry was also hard-hit, with loss of 500 million pesos in income. This aggravates the problem of capital shortage plaguing the Aquino administration.

Faced with these problems, President Aquino has sought to stabiliz the country's political situation by removing the possible causes of rebellion within the Armed Forces. For its part, the Philippine Congress granted the president more powers to strengthen her position in realizing the goals of the administration. She was authorized to declare a state of national emergeny, implement price control measures and crackdown on blackmarkets as well as try to improve the standard of living of majority of the Filipino people. Under the new national budget of the Aquino government, soldiers and policemen will receive higher daily allowance.

Furthermore, a cabinet revamp was carried by President Aquino in the belief that such a step was needed in view of the events in the country.

However, the political problems confronting the nation continue to exert an effect on the national budget, especially in the implementation of the budget law. Budget deficit has become a permanent fixture of national life and will continue to grow worse, even though attempts will be made to bring it down from 5.1% to 1.6%.

Naturally, the Aquino government will have to look for new sources of capital. Local economists believe that one way to achieve this is to implement agrarian reform, while another way is to introduce structural changes to make the national economy more efficient. On international trade, the Philippines should promote ties with new trading partners.

In general, though, the Philippine economy has bright prospects. Already, Manila has shown keen interest in promoting closer economic ties with the Soviet Union, East Europe and Indochina. If this can be realized, the decade of peace that President Aquino has announced will also become a decade of cooperation which will benefit all aspects of life in Philippine society.

Near East & South Asia

Iranian Talks on Border Contacts Reviewed

Consular Issues Discussed

PM1201120190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] B.N. Chaplin, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Taleh Masule, chief of the Iranian Foreign Ministry Visa and Passport Department, and had a conversation with him on Soviet-Iranian consular matters and also on certain other matters of mutual interest involving bilateral relations. Naser Heirani-Nobari, Iranian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Border Contact Documents Drawn Up

LD1301175390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1626 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jan (TASS)—During their stay in the USSR in early January of this year, Mahmud Va'ezi, deputy foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Iranian delegation led by M. Taleh Masule, head of the visa and passport office of the Iranian Foreign Ministry in Moscow and Baku, Azerbaijan's capital, Soviet-Iranian talks were held on the issues of simplifying crossings by Soviet and Iranian citizens of the Soviet-Iranian border and also on simplifying reciprocal visits by both countries' citizens to relatives and for other reasons.

In the course of the talks, Iran's representatives agreed to thoroughly examine Soviet proposals on simplifying border contacts and citizens' private visits. Draft documents elaborated jointly with Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry are being handed over to Iranian representatives.

The Iranian side expressed the readiness to receive a Soviet delegation in Tehran in late January to complete the talks and sign the corresponding agreements.

Iran's Velayati Cited on Cooperation

LD1401114390 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Tehran January 14 TASS—Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived in Tabriz, the centre of the Iranian province of eastern Azerbaijan, on Saturday [13 January].

He is leading a group of experts for the elaboration of provisions and preparation to receive Soviet Azerbaijan tourists on Iranian territory.

In a statement for the press Velayati pointed out in Tabriz that Iran had no difficulties in receiving Moslems from the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan who want to visit shrines or their relatives. Preparatory steps had already been made in this respect, he added.

The minister also noted the importance of cooperation between the border areas of the Soviet Union and Iran in various fields, including the implementation of joint economic projects.

Iranian Majlis Delegation Visits Azerbaijan

LD1501031990 Tehran in English to Europe 1930 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] The Islamic Republic of Iran's parliamentary delegation, under the supervision of Mr Seyyed Fakhreddin Musavi, representative of the people of Ardabil in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, visiting the Soviet Union, arrived in Baku, the capital of the Soviet Azerbaijan Republic, yesterday.

The ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY reports that Mr Fakhreddin Musavi, upon his arrival in that city, in an interview with the Baku-based daily [name indistinct] described visiting of the Muslim people in Soviet Azerbaijan as the objective behind the trip, calling for the expansion of relations of the people of that republic with Iran.

Based on the report, in continuation of its visit, the delegation inspected the handicraft and calligraphic works of the Soviet Azerbaijan's Academy of Sciences yesterday.

'Emotional Scenes' Occur on Iranian Border

LD1401225390 Tehran IRNA in English 1745 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Poldasht (East Azarbayjan), Jan. 14, IRNA—Despite the extreme cold Soviet Azeris continued to gather across the border river Aras, and waved enthusiastically at their Iranian brethren.

There were many children and women along the fairly large crowd of Soviet Muslims standing along a 2-km line along the river bank. They were jubilantly shouting Islamic slogans.

People on the Iranian side of the river also gathered together, and cheerfully began responding to the Soviet Azeris, with whom many share family ties.

About 30 Soviet Muslims, some on inflated rubber tubes and some swimming the icy waters of Aras, reached the Iranian shore and were warmly welcomed by their Iranian brethren in emotional scenes.

For the past several days, the border region has been scene of massive gatherings on the Soviet side, with the Muslims demanding facilities to visit their kinsmen in Iran.

With the approach of dusk, the 5-hour gathering ended at 17:00 hours local time (13:30 GMT).

In related news, another 1,000 Soviet Azeris held a demonstration opposite the Iranian border town of Jolfa today, demanding that Soviet officials speed up their efforts to facilitate travel to Iran.

They also exchanged messages with their Iranian relatives standing on the other side of the river. The information included addresses, telephone numbers and identities, written on scraps of paper and wrapped around small stones which were thrown across the river.

Those, who managed to trace their relatives after more than 50 years were so overcome by emotion, that they beat their chests and heads out of joy.

Envoys of Iran, Turkey Briefed on Azerbaijan

LD1601110390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received in turn Heirani-Nobari, the Iranian ambassador in the USSR, and Vural, the Turkish ambassador, on 15 January and informed them about the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the state of emergency declared in some rayons of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, including those along the state border of the USSR with these countries.

Iranian Hails Teaching of Koran in Azerbaijan

LD1501114690 Tehran IRNA in English 1010 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Ardabil, East Azerbaijan Prov., Jan. 15, IRNA—The Holy Koran will be taught at schools in the Soviet Azerbaijan in a near future as an academic subject, a Muslim Soviet Azeri writer and poet said Sunday night [14 January].

Bakhtiar Vahhabzadeh [name as received], speaking on Baku television, said that the Soviet Azeris were Muslim by origin and therefore their acquaintance with the Holy Koran was a must. He noted that in the past Muslims in the Soviet Azerbaijan did not have the chance to get involved in spirituality and were only concerned with material issues. Stressing that Islam as the most comprehensive religion invited mankind to justice and fraternity, Vahhabzadeh said that in a near future Arabic would become the official alphabet in the Soviet Azerbaijan Republic. He called on the Soviet Azeris to unity, fraternity, and full observance of Islamic codes.

Vahhabzadeh is well known among the Soviet Azeris for his Islamic writings in which he enumerated priorities of moral values over material thinking.

PLO Envoy Praises Upgrading of Mission Status

LD1201195190 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov:

Speaking at a news conference here today, Nabil 'Amr, ambassador of the Palestinian State to the USSR, noted that the upgrading of the mission of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in Moscow to the level of an embassy of the Palestinian State in the USSR would give a powerful impetus to strengthening the relations between the Arab Palestinian and Soviet peoples.

Recognising the PLO's important role in a Middle East settlement, the Soviet Union took a new step which aims to achieve a real and lasting peace in that explosive region: The USSR decided to upgrade the Palestinian mission to the level of embassy.

"We praise the decision by the Soviet leadership," 'Amr said. "It encourages our efforts aimed at building an independent Palestinian state and achieving a comprehensive peace in the Middle East."

Relations between the two states have deep historical roots and are based on mutual respect, coordination and cooperation, he added.

The Palestinian people, waging the struggle for freedom and independence, see the Soviet state as the major contributing factor, to a peaceful settlement, the ambassador noted.

The United States assessed the Soviet decision as detrimental to the peace process, 'Amr continued.

This position is surprising and shows a biased approach to the Middle East problem and support for Israel's aggressive policy.

Speaking about the Arab-Israeli conflict, the ambassador noted some positive changes inside some Israeli Government and public institutions in favour of a comprehensive settlement and the growing number of supporters of an international Middle East conference.

The State of Palestine has now been recognised by 105 countries and has full diplomatic relations with about 90 states.

Israel's Weizman Comments on Visit, PLO

LD1201202690 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—'Ezer Weizman, Israeli minister of science, is pleased with his stay in the Soviet Union. He was on an unofficial visit here from January 5 to 11 at the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

In a TASS interview before departure from the Soviet Union, the Israeli minister said he had a very interesting meeting at his own request with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

He said that during a conversation with Shevardnadze he pointed to the need for the improvement of relations between the two countries.

As regards relations with the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the minister said there are different approaches in Israel to this problem.

"The Israeli Government does not wish to conduct negotiations with PLO, whereas my personal opinion is that we should negotiate with it," he said.

Weizman said he was given an opportunity to visit research institutes, meet his relatives, and prominent Soviet scientists, to travel in the USSR and more deeply understand the problems it encounters.

He said the visit's programme was very hectic and interesting.

PLO's 'Amr, Israel's Weizman Interviewed

LD1401235890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Jan 90

[From the "Seven Days" program]

[Excerpts] [Krutov] Now for yet another example of the unpredictable changes that sometimes take place in contemporary politicians. One of the heroes of our next material is one of the most well-known politicians of the State of Israel, 'Ezer Weizman. [passage omitted]

[Kiselev] today is the 768th day of the intifadah, the Palestinian uprising on the Israeli-occupied territories. Each new day brings more bloodshed, more victims. A peaceful settlement to the problem is needed. Dialogue is needed. But is such a thing possible between the main protagonists of the conflict: the Israelis and the Palestinians? Or, to be more specific, between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization? Until recently talk on this topic was just talk. Today, on the "Seven Days" program, such talk is being held by representatives of both sides involved: Nabil 'Amr, a Palestinian politician and diplomat and the head of the PLO mission in Moscow which, this week, on 10 January, was transformed into the Embassy of the State of Palestine, with the consent of the Soviet Union; 'Ezer Weizman, Israeli minister of science and development. [passage omitted]

And so, is a direct dialogue possible between representatives of Israel and the PLO?

[Begin recording] [Nabil 'Amr] The PLO has nothing against any kind of talks or direct contacts with representatives of Israel, be they government or public figures.

[Weizman] The Israeli Government's policy is for no dialogue with the PLO. I, on the other hand, am one of the members of the cabinet who expresses a different view. I say yes. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] If, let us assume, during your stay in Moscow one of the Palestinian representatives working here asked you to meet him, would you accept such an invitation?

[Weizman] No, I would not. I would refuse for the simple reason that if I wanted to meet with any of the PLO leaders, I would not need to come to Moscow to do so.

[Interviewer] Tell me, if while in Moscow Weizman wanted to, say, meet you personally, or one of the Palestinian representatives, what would your reaction be?

['Amr] As far as I am concerned, I would agree, without doubt. [passage omitted]

[Weizman] I believe that indirect talks, with the courteous mediation of Egypt and the United States, could produce some results, but I am sure that it is better for talks to be conducted directly. This is the correct path for our country if it wants to live in peace and security.

['Amr] We value any attempt, any efforts aimed at seeking a solution to the Middle East conflict, as long as they take into consideration the interests of the Palestinian people, their right to self-determination, and the right of the PLO to participate in the settlement process. [passage omitted] [end recording]

East Europe

Media Reports on Albanian Situation Viewed

IZVESTIYA Cites TANJUG, BBC

PM1401185190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Item from column of TASS/REUTERS/UPI reports: "Albania 'on Threshold of Revolt'"]

[Text] TANJUG has issued the following report on the situation in Albania: "The Albanian authorities have resorted to extremely severe measures to control the situation in the country in order to put a stop to the popular demonstrations against the Tirana regime [no closing quotation marks as published]. TANJUG believes that these measures can confidently be described as the introduction of a state of emergency. The Albanian mass media have not yet reported the current situation in the country. However, reports coming in 12 January from various foreign sources to all intents and purposes confirm that a state of emergency has been declared in Albania and that the authorities are "dealing severely with dissidents."

The BBC, citing a report from Athens, reports that a state of emergency has been declared in Shkoder and Tirana. It is being claimed in the Italian press that Albania is "on the threshold of revolt." Greece's ELEVTHEROPTIPIA is claiming that a "Romanian-style uprising" has begun in Albania.

Ogayants Criticizes Coverage

LD1401193690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Nikolay Ogayants commentary: "What is Really Happening in Albania?"]

[Excerpt] Unfortunately, we have no comprehensive and reliable information on the situation in that small Balkan state with a population of 3.2 million people. And this is not our fault but our misfortune since for many decades already, the country has been in a state of self-isolation, and Albanian leaders do not favor journalists, regarding them, together with imperialism and revisionism, as the main enemies of the system that exists there. The scarce

reports which from time to time appear in the foreign press do not clarify at all one's idea of the state that has started developing contacts with its neighbnors and some West European countries only in the last few years. And suddenly the BBC, referring to sources in Athens, reports that a state of emergency has been introduced in Tirana and the town of Shkodra, while the DAILY EXPRESS adds that student protest marches have swept Albania.

To be fair, one has to notice that not only bourgeois mass media have reported on the unrest in the republic. Thus, TANJUG NEWS AGENCY has circulated the following report: The Albanian authorities have resorted to extreme measures for keeping the situation in the country under control with the purpose of halting the actions against the regime that exists there. An AFP correspondent in Belgrade, however, referring to conversations with tourists who returned from Albania, maintains that the situation in that country is calm. And representatives of the Albanian leadership have made a statement in which they describe the report on unrest in the republic and on the introduction of a state of emergency as groundless and malicious fabrications.

Therefore, in my view, one should approach the hasty conclusions made by some foreign media with a great deal of criticism. [passage omitted]

Daily Cites Reports

PM1401200390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Single Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Albania: Situation Deteriorating"]

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan—TANJUG has issued a report on the situation in Albania noting in particular that the Albania authorities have resorted to severe measures to control the situation in the country in order to put a stop to anti-regime unrest among the population in Tirana. In TANJUG's opinion these measures can confidently be described as the declaration of a state of emergency in Albania.

The BBC, citing information from Athens, reports that a state of emergency has been declared in Shkoder and Tirana. It is being claimed in the Italian press that Albania is "on the threshold of revolt." Reports of unrest in Albania have featured prominently in the Greek newspapers. For instance, ELEVTHEROPTIPIA is claiming that a "Romanian-style uprising" has begun in Albania.

TANJUG's correspondent in Athens reports that it has been stated in local diplomatic circles that there are signs that "something extraordinary is indeed happening in Albania."

The Albanian mass media have not yet reported on the situation in the country. On Friday Tirana Television carried a statement by Foto Cami, member of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the AWP Central Committee, in which he rejected "such claims." Answering a question from journalists about what lies behind this interest in Albania, F. Cami said that certain people want the same thing to happen in Albania as happened in the countries of East Europe.

Bulgaria's Lukanov Meets USSR Leaders in Moscow

PM1601102990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Working Visit"]

[Text] A.Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, paid a working visit to Moscow on 11-12 January.

At a meeting with A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, there was an indepth exchange of opinions on the multifaceted processes of social transformations in the two countries as well as on some international problems of mutual interest.

The conversation between A. Lukanov and G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was devoted to issues concerning the renewal of the activity of the CPSU and the Bulgarian Communist Party in conditions of perestroyka, democratization of life within the party, the strengthening of links with the masses and collaboration with other social organizations and movements.

Ye.M. Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and A. Lukanov discussed problems concerning the establishment of the parliamentary system in the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the confirmation of soviets at all levels as bodies of genuine people's power. In connection with the new role and new functions of the supreme legislative organs of the two countries, a mutual interest was expressed in expanding cooperation between the Soviet and the Bulgarian People's Republic National Assembly, and in imparting to it a businesslike nature.

The conversations passed off in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding.

Bulgarian Faction Seeks 'Democratic Restructuring'

PM1601121590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "National Conference for BCP Faction"]

[Text] Sofia, 13 Jan—The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] faction that formed 1 week ago under the name Alternative Socialist Association [ASA] has held its first national conference here. More than 2,500 party members took part in it. They came from various cities in the country, but the overwhelming majority of the delegates are members of the capital's BCP organizations.

The conference discussed the ASA's draft political platform and program. The former indicated that the Alternative Socialist Association "assumes the functions of a party faction, which is a means of legitimizing alternative thinking." Factional struggle, according to its authors, does not constitute a struggle against the party, and factional activity must not be considered antiparty activity. The ASA is part of the party but its practical activity presupposes cooperation with all forces that advocate the democratic restructuring of the BCP. The socialist association proclaims its aim of transforming the BCP into a "modern party of democratic socialism."

The draft political platform presents the ASA's position on Bulgarian foreign policy, which must, according to the document, be based solely on national state interests and in accordance with universally recognized norms for international relations. The faction welcomes the development of renewal processes in the USSR and other countries of Eastern Europe and assumes that they will help "increase the dynamics" in Bulgaria's relations with them "on the basis of mutual advantage."

CSSR's Havel Cited on Upcoming Moscow Visit

PM1401184990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent L. Kornilov dispatch: "V. Havel: 'I'm Prepared to Visit the USSR'"]

[Text] Prague— CSSR President V. Havel returned to Prague 13 January after his 1-day visit to Bratislava.

Public attention was focused on his brief news conference. In response to a question on how the president views Z. Brezinski's idea of the creation of a Czechoslovak-Polish confederation, V. Havel said that such plans are a matter above all for the two peoples. A question was also asked about the CSSR president's forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union and about which questions would be the most important during the Moscow talks. The answer was: "I am already prepared for the visit. There is a large package of problems which I would like to discuss with M.S. Gorbachev, but I think it would be wrong to give any preliminary information about this to journalists."

The results of the latest "roundtable" talks between various political parties and social movements have also been reported here. The session discussed the further restructuring of parliament. The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] has proposed freeing between 90 and 100 seats occupied by communist deputies (this total includes the 22 seats whose mandates were renewed in December). This step, as O. Saling, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stated, demonstrates the party's new approach to the political realities in the country. Candidate deputies are being put forward by "Civic Forum," "Public Against Violence," and other parties. In particular, the CPCZ itself, in line with the January Central Committee plenum decision, is nominating three new candidates: I. Makhalik [name as transliterated], secretary of the Central Committee; scientific worker Z. Masopust [name as transliterated]; and V. Mohorita, first secretary of the Central Committee. This restructuring of the Federal Assembly should take place before the end of January.

CSSR Spokesman on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks

LD1501215290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 90

[S. Andreyev video report from Prague; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Talks on the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia began today in Prague.

[Begin recording] [S. Andreyev] The USSR delegation at the talks is headed by USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aboimov and the delegation of Czechoslovakia by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vacek. Experts in military, financial, and other areas are taking part in the talks from the Soviet and Czechoslovak sides. [video shows the two delegations seated at a long table with photographers walking around, then Andreyev seated alone talking to the camera]

The press was allowed into the meeting hall for 5 minutes as is the custom, and then the talks began behind closed doors. And since there is nothing to add for the time being, one has to await the results of the talks. One can only presume that the position of the Czechoslovak side will be sufficiently clear. Here is how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs press secretary (Lubos Dobrovsky) outlined this at a meeting with journalists.

[(Dobrovsky) in Czech with superimposed Russian report] We are proposing that the Soviet troops will leave Czechoslovakia by the end of 1990. This is our initial position. The treaty on the temporary stay of troops on the territory of Czechoslovakia was not valid from the very outset. We, ourselves, will not insist that the Soviet side should accept this formulation juridically and formally, but we would wish all the same to conduct the talks as if this appraisal had been accepted. With regard to the timetable for the withdrawal, our position is not determined by some kind of compromise decision, and not only by the technical matters of the redeployment of the troops, transport possibilities, and so forth. The spokesman of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs spoke out in the sense that the withdrawal of the troops should not be dependent on and linked to the progress of the Vienna talks on disarmament in central Europe. [video shows spokesman addressing journalists] [end recording]

CSSR Closes Havana Radio Office in Retaliation

LD1201213290 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Prague January 12 TASS—Czechoslovakia decided to close the country's radio office in Cuba

following the decision of the Cuban authorities to expel M. Cermak from Havana, the CTK NEWS AGENCY reported.

Czechoslovakia expressed its disagreement with the actions of the Cuban authorities to Cuban Charge d'Affaires Davalos who was summoned to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today.

Gorbachev Allegedly Plans GDR Visit at End Jan

AU1601092090 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 16 Jan 90 p 1

["hrk" report: "Will Gorbachev Go to the GDR at the End of January?"]

[Excerpts] Berlin—Soviet state and party chief Mikhail Gorbachev wants to give massive political support to GDR Premier Hans Modrow: The CPSU chairman wanted to go to East Berlin already in the middle of this week to consolidate the prestige of the badly shaken GDR head of government with all his authority. Western diplomats in East Berlin confirmed Gorbachev's plans to go to the GDR to DIE WELT: "However, the events in the Caucasus, in particular the escalated situation in Baku, are keeping him at home at the moment."

Nevertheless, Gorbachev has not given up his planned flight to East Berln to Modrow—both are close friends since they studied together at the Moscow Komsomol College in the 1950's: The trip is to be made at the end of January or the beginning of February. Well-informed sources in East Berlin speak of the next "2 to 3 weeks." [passage omitted]

Next Thursday [18 January] Nikolay Portugalov, one of Gorbachev's closest Germany policy advisors, will go to West Berlin. DIE WELT learned in the Schoeneberg Town Hall that Portugalov has an appointment for a talk with Mayor Walter Momper (Social Democratic Party of Germany).

GDR Foreign Minister To Visit 19-20 Jan

LD1501143590 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15—TASS—Oskar Fischer, foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic, will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union on January 19 to 20, 1990 at the Soviet Government's invitation.

GDR's Honecker, Mielke Charged With Treason

LD1501215490 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin January 15 TASS—Former East German leader Erich Honecker and former security chief Erich Mielke have been charged with treason and anti-constitutional activities, the ADN news agency said today, quoting chief prosecutor Hans-Juergen Joseph.

The expanded criminal proceedings against Honecker and Mielke, who had already been indicted for abuse of office and corruption, now include Paragraphs 96 and 107 of the Criminal Code.

ADN said former Politburo member Hans-Joachim Boehme, communist chief in Halle district, was ordered to be arrested.

He is suspected of "doing damage to socialist and party property," worth a total of 170,000 marks.

GDR Security Service Plan Cancellation Reported

LD1201161790 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin 12/1 TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports:

Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government bowing to pressure from the population on Friday cancelled plans to create new state security bodies before elections in May.

"We will scrap decisions on an office for state security." Tasks in this field should be taken over by the People's Police. "Before May 6, there will be no new security services, Prime Miniaster Hans Modrow told parliament at the end of a debate on his policy statement.

Most opposition parties and movements which have come into being in the GDR since a major political shake-up in November last year but also parties formerly allied to the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] feared that the formerly leading party could include its powerful security apparatus into planned new structures.

Speakers for the coalition partners in today's debate threatened to quit the government if new security bodies organization were set up before the May elections.

With his surprising statement, received by the MPs with great applause, Modrow saved the coalition government which threatened to break apart.

In his final address he said he was convinced that the government's ability to work was preserved after the debate on his statement and that it could continue its work. Priorities should be reexamined now and some must be newly defined.

The most important task was an economic reform accompanied by a stabilization of the economy and the supply of the population. The round table, grouping representatives of the government and the opposition, should be involved in the process, he said.

Parliament approved Modrow's policy statement, with seven MPs voting against, while 24 abstained. The meeting will be continued in the afternoon.

Hungary's MSZMP Makes Overtures to MSZP

PM1601095790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Potential for Cooperation Exists"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 Jan—Despite obvious theoretical, political, and organizational differences, there is scope for the establishment of decent, loyal ties, including political cooperation, between the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. This conclusion is contained in a letter from the MSZMP Executive Secretariat to the MSZP Presidium published here.

Acting as the initiator in the normalization of contacts between the two parties, the MSZMP has declared itself ready to develop fruitful cooperation. At the same time, it is stressed that the MSZMP is joining in Hungary's political life as a renewed party with a new leadership and a new program and statutes.

In launching this intiative, the MSZMP proceeds from the premise that friction between the two left-wing parties is likely to benefit only their common opponent, the right-wing forces, since in Hungary, alongside the vital process of the democratization and renewal of society, an overt struggle for bourgeois restoration is being waged against whose backdrop the disunited forces of the left-wing movement find themselves on the defensive. In the interests of the people and society it is necessary to halt this negative process by establishing a political and economic system on a truly democratic basis, which, in the opinion of the MSZMP, can be achieved only as a result of the unification of all left-wing forces.

Polish 'Anarchists' Protest Price Hikes

LD1301140790 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw January 13 TASS—A group of 100 anarchists protesting against price hikes rampaged in the centre of the Polish capital on Friday.

After a rally organised by the inter-city anarchists organisation they marched to the parliament building. The group stoned a police patrol car and smashed several windows at the senate where deputies were holding debates at the time.

Then they marched to the building of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, blocking street traffic. They again smashed windows and tried to set fire to a door. On the buildings's wall they wrote a demand that the building be turned over to the homeless.

Then anarchists also attacked the headquarters of the Solidarity civil committee. They fored their way into the building and destroyed placards, emblems and photos of solidarity leaders. Outside the headquarters, they burned a banner with the word "Solidarity" written on it.

Then the group marched to the Finance Ministry. Unable to enter the building, the anarchists directed their aggression against the sign bearing the name of the ministry.

It was only then that police intervened and detained four people.

A spokesman for the United Workers' Party said several hours later that the anarchists "availing themselves of the connivance of police, used axes in an attempt to break the door and hurled petrol bombs inside the building."

The spokesman said this was not the first case of violence in the country. "Poland is threatened with lawlessness. After monuments, books and buildings unbridled aggression may turn on people," he said.

Reportage on RCP Outlawed Following Rally

Iliescu Reads Decrees

LD1201220190 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest January 13 TASS—By TASS correspondents Dmitriy Dyakov, Vadim Malyutin, Nikolay Morozov:

The Romanian Communist Party [RCP] has been outlawed. This is said in one of the three draft decrees which Ion Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front council, read out from a balcony of the Foreign Ministry building in Bucharest. The demands of the participants in a rally in Bucharest's Victoria Square have thus been granted.

The draft decree says that the Communist Party was taken over by the Ceausescu dictatorship and became an instrument of political demogagy and lies used as a method of management directed against the people. In this connection, the National Salvation Front Council, together with all people of goodwill, declares that the party ran counter to the national spirit and historic traditions.

Under another draft decree, in view of grave crimes of henchmen of the Ceausescu clique, a national referendum will be held on January 28 on whether to re-establish the death penalty. The third draft decree envisages the formation of a commission to investigate the population's inquiries and complaints.

During a rally in the Victoria Square and outside the building of Free Romanian Television, that lasted over six hours, demonstrators demanded strict punishment for all the henchment of the dictator. They called for political pluralism and openness anud demanded that all the officials who compromised themselves should be expelled from government bodies.

The slogans "down with communists" and "down with Russians" were proclaimed more than once during the

manifestation. While the rally lasted, cars on thoroughfares were checked, and the building of the television station was sealed off by armed forces.

'Major Test' for Romanian Leadership

PM1401200190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Single Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Rally in Bucharest"]

[Text] Bucharest, 13 Jan—Last Friday was a major test for the new Romanian leadership. On that day, which was declared a day of mourning in memory of the victims of the revolution, large rallies and demonstrations were again held in the streets and squares. Whipping up feelings, the speakers proposed various, sometimes mutually exclusive, ways of ensuring the country's further development. Political groupings, speaking on behalf of what they claimed to be their numerous members, joined in the babble in an attempt to win political prestige by playing on the people's unabated hatred for Ceausescu's "scientific socialism and communism."

One of the results of the more than 6-hour rally, which was the focal point for demonstrations, was the adoption yesterday evening of a draft decree-cum-law outlawing the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. Reading out the document, Ion Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council, explained that the RCP had been usurped by the Ceausescu dictatorship and had become a tool of political demagoguery and lies, which were used as a method of governance and aimed against the people.

What was the essence of the demands made by the almost 10,000-strong crowd outside the Romanian Foreign Ministry building? People were demanding the restoration of the death penalty and its use against arrested lackeys of the Ceausescu clan guilty of crimes against the people. In many areas people who compromised themselves by cooperating with the former regime and who have not changed their working style have become part of the new organs of power. Among the slogans repeatedly heard in the squares are "Communists—Out of the NSF" and "Down With the Communists."

A major role in shaping the feelings of those present has been played by the new Romanian press, which has become an open forum for the expression of all opinions and positions, including openly anticommunist opinions. For instance, yesterday's issue of ROMANIA LIBERE expressed alarm that certain NSF leaders had "expressed conviction in the eternal values of communism." This, the newspaper wrote, prompts suspicion as to whether a return to communism by a roundabout route is not being prepared under the cover of the NSF.

The excitable crowd which besieged the Foreign Ministry building forced the front leaders, who had to provide explanations in this difficult situation, out onto an improvised rostrum. In response to the demonstrators' demand to hold free elections under UN auspices, First Deputy Chairman of the NSF Council D. Mazilu reported that the NSF leadership had already sent a letter to the UN secretary general stating its consent to hold elections under the aegis of that international organization.

In our country, Chairman of the NSF Council I. Iliescu stressed in his turn, the communist party—which has virtually wound itself up—does not exist. The aims of the NSF are to develop democracy and freedom in the country and to do everything to save the country from its terrible past. But now more than ever we need calm, the pooling of all efforts, and the consolidation of Romanian society. We will carry out all the people's demands—above all as regards the further democratization of all aspects of life in the country. We are an interim government and we want to hold free elections, after which a final state structure will be set up.

In connection with the demonstrators' demands to severely punish the Ceausescu clique's lackeys, the decision has been made to hold a referendum 28 January throughout Romania to allow the population to express its opinion on the question of the restoration of the death penalty. It is also planned to set up a commission to examine statements and complaints from the population.

Situation 'Unpredictable'

PM1501101190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report from roundup of TASS, REUTER, and AFP reports: "Unpredictable Situation"]

[Text] The situation in the Romanian capital remains complex and difficult to predict after the mass meeting on Friday night at which sharp criticism of the country's new leadership was heard. Nonetheless the development of events shows that the demonstrators' actions are not meeting with support among the population. Workers and representatives of the intelligentsia and local councils of the National Salvation Front have denounced the methods with whose aid the demonstrators tried to cause disorders in the capital and divert the country's leadership from the solution of society's urgent problems. Many of them stressed in various speeches that they disagree with the formulations of the hastily adopted decrees, that the actions and deeds of many Communists have nothing in common with the Ceausescu dictatorship, which usurped the Romanian Communist Party and all power in Romania.

After the meeting a thorough talk took place in the National Salvation Council about the decrees which have been proclaimed. Many people have criticized us for giving in to the demonstrators, I. Iliescu, chairman of the National Salvation Front Council, said on Romanian television. We think that the fate of the decree on the

outlawing of the Romanian Communist Party should also be decided during the general referendum planned for 28 January.

The conduct of some of the demonstrators, I. Iliescu noted, reflects the low level of political culture which society has inherited from the previous regime. He urged the country's population to display wisdom and patience and to enable the National Salvation Front Council, whose members, "with varying experience, political views, and temperament," are setting themselves a single goal—leading the country out of its difficult economic position—to defend freedom and democracy.

PRAVDA Questions Ban on RCP

PM1501203090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch by special correspondents V. Vedrashko, Ye. Spekhov, and A. Sharyy: "First Impressions After the Decree"]

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Jan—These are just our initial impressions of the reaction in Romania to the ban on the Communist Party's activity. No matter how the situation changes, there can be no doubt that political stabilization is possible only along the path of democracy and with due consideration for the interests of all strata of the country's population.

Having proclaimed the slogan of political pluralism in the very first days of its existence, the National Salvation Front [NSF] laid down that political parties of any orientation, with the exception of fascist parties, can be freely created in Romania. It followed from the NSF leadership's statement that all parties, including the Communist Party, could take part in the country's political life.

In view of this, how is one to appraise the NSF Council's decree outlawing the Communist Party? The Romanian Communist Party [RCP], this document says, "was confiscated by the dictatorship and became an instrument of demagoguery and lies employed as methods of government against the people."

The NSF made the decision to ban the Communist Party under strong pressure from participants in a demonstration held in Bucharest 12 January. All the indications are that this has affected the prestige of the new leadership, which, it seems to us, lost control of the development of events for a time, incorrectly assessing the specific political situation. In this case, it is a question not so much of the fact of the ban on the Communist Party but of the fact that the NSF showed its weakness and was forced to retreat in the face of pressure from a crowd excited by emotions.

It cannot be said that all Romania had marched out into Bucharest's Victory Square. Many strata of the population were not represented there, and this resulted in the most contradictory appraisals of the decree, from ardent support to total rejection. For example, the leadership of the National-Peasants' Christian-Democratic Party—and it is one of the major political forces now—did not recommend its supporters, especially young people, to take part in the rally and spoke out against the NSF's decision, believing that the democratic process in the country must develop consistently and must not be interrupted by decisions of a strongarm nature. We learned from RCP veterans that workers at many enterprises held back young people who wanted to go out into the square.

News reports coming in from various places confirm that the decree has not helped to strengthen unity within the NSF ranks. Sharing their opinions with us, representatives of a number of parties and public organizations said: "The decision was not made by the NSF, the decision was made by a crowd of people who had assembled in the square that evening."

But what do the workers think? There is a certain confusion. It seems, though, that the position will become clear as the working week begins. Labor collectives are hardly likely to accept the situation in which they find themselves.

The Romanian capital is quiet now. Army pickets patrol the center of Bucharest, where groups of citizens gather to discuss current political problems. Opinions differ and clash.

Of course, one can understand those who, by force of objective factors, are now unable to draw a distinction between communist ideology and the monstrously perverted regime of personal power and set of ideological dogmas which passed as socialism in Romania. These people demand guarantees that the past will not be repeated. We will make no secret of the fact that we also came across people who believe that such a guarantee can be provided by the application of repressive measures against RCP members. It is in this light, by the way, that one ought to examine the adopted decree on a referendum on the question of restoring the death penalty in the country.

Be that as it may, it must be admitted that the communist movement in Romania is experiencing a most profound crisis. This is not a question of disorganization or temporary confusion caused by the shock of events, it stems from the fact that the repressive dictatorial regime undermined the people's trust in socialist ideas. The Communists and workers who have not lost their determination to struggle as yet are adopting a wait-and-see position.

NSF leaders I. Iliescu, P. Roman, and D. Mazilu spoke on Romanian Television Saturday [13 January]. In their words, the country's economic situation is still deteriorating. The main problem is the imbalance between existing capacities and availability of resources. The specter of unemployment is taking shape. It was declared: The NSF Council will do everything possible to

ensure jobs for people. Some cadres will be sent to do repair work, others will undergo thorough and serious retraining.

There are very many problems in all spheres of economic life. NSF leaders speak out firmly and unambiguously on some of them, but positions have yet to be defined on some other problems. It must be noted that a process of polarization and consolidation of opinions is now under way in the most diverse strata of Romanian society. The political platforms which will clash as a result of this process will become clear in the very near future. In all probability, the voice of the working class will take an important place in this nationwide dialogue.

'No Reason' Seen To Ban RCP From Election

AU1301162390 Moscow in Romanian to Romania 1730 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio in Romanian to Romania at 1730 GMT on 12 January carries a 5-minute long interview by the station's Bucharest correspondent (Vecheslav Kostelko) with a certain Serban Piciorea, identified only as "worker, member of the Romanian Communist Party for the past 20 years," who says there are many "honest" communists among the 4 million party members, who were not compromised by Ceausescu, hence he "can see no reason why a renewed Communist Party should not contest next April's elections." Piciorea goes on to say that "all events in Eastern Europe were only made possible by Gorbachev's coming to power in the USSR." He concludes by stressing to need to "restructure" the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, which had become a "mere bureaucratic instrument during the dictatorship," so that it can "really do the job of promoting friendship between the two peoples."

Georgian Foreign Minister Arrives in Bucharest

AU1501150990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] An Aeroflot aircraft with over twelve tonnes of medicines and food on board as relief aid for the Romanian people from the people of the Georgian SSR arrived at Otopeni Airport this morning. The foreign affairs minister of the Georgian SSR who arrived by the same plane told journalists at the airport that he had come to Bucharest to congratulate the Romanian people on the victory scored on the road to freedom. The Soviet ambassador to Bucharest, Yewvgeniy Tyazhelnikov, was present.

Mostovoy Receives Romanian Metallurgy Minister

LD1501234390 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Mostovoy, co-chairman of the Soviet-Romanian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation, today received Romanian Minister of Metallurgical Industry Ioan Chesa.

They discussed economic cooperation between the two countries, specifically in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy.

The meeting was attended by Romanian Ambassador to the Soviet Union Vasile Sandru.

West Europe

Defense Minister Postpones Visit to France

AU1401182890 Paris AFP in English 1807 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Paris, Jan 14 (AFP)—A three-day visit to France by Soviet Defence Minister General Dimitriy Yazov, scheduled for early February, has been postponed, officials said here Sunday, without giving any reason.

Gen Yazov, who welcomed his opposite number Jean-Pierre Chevenement last April during the first visit to the Soviet Union by a French Defence Minister for 12 years, was due to arrive here on February 6.

Bakatin Meets Vranitsky, Ends Visit to Austria

LD1301100390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1219 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna, 12 Jan (TASS)—Topical issues concerning the development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Austria in combating crime were discussed during an official visit to the Republic of Austria by V.V. Bakatin, the USSR minister of internal affairs, which ended today.

He was received by Federal Chancellor F. Vranitzky. During a discussion, which passed off in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere, both sides stressed the importance of deepening international cooperation in the interests of overcoming crime and of uniting efforts to combat its various manifestations.

Fruitful talks between V.V. Bakatin and F. Loeschnak, Austrian federal minister for the interior, resulted in the signing of an agreement between the ministries of the two countries on cooperation in combating illegal trafficking in narcotics and organized crime. It is the first accord of this kind to have been concluded between the Soviet Union and a Western country. In particular, the document provides for cooperation in combating illegal trafficking in narcotics and psychotropic substance, the exchange of operational information which is of mutual interest, of scientific methods, technologies and the results of specialist research, as well as the exchange of work experience in combating organized crime and in the use of modern forms, methods and scientific and technical means in this sphere. To deepen contacts on an equal footing, a joint commission is being set up which comprises leading staff of the Austrian and USSR interior ministries.

V.V. Bakatin familiarized himself with the activities of law enforcement bodies in the alpine Republic. Issues of

mutual interest were discussed during his conversation with Margaret Ansti, director general of the UN department in Vienna.

The USSR minister of internal affairs met staff of Soviet institutions in Austria.

V.V. Bakatin departed for Moscow today. He was seen off at Schwechat airport by F. Loeschnak and other officials, as well as by G.S. Shikin, the USSR ambassador to Austria.

Ryzhkov Meets With Norwegian Labor Party Leader

LD1501173390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—In the Kremlin today Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met Gro Harlem Brundtland, chairman of the Norwegian Labor Party and of the foreign policy committee of the Norwegian legislature, who is taking part in the work of the "global forum on the environment and development with the aims of survival."

At the request of the Norwegian guest, the USSR Council of Ministers chairman thoroughly analyzed the peculiarities and complexities of the present stage of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. Noting the intensity of the process of democratization in all aspects of life in Soviet society in the year which has gone by, which had an effect also on the work of the highest body of state power in the country, Nikolay Ryzhkov paid special attention to the government program, which was supported by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, for improving the economy of the USSR. It was stressed that this program was formed preceeding from the real situation in the economy, the social direction of the state's economic policy; the need for a stage-by-stage deepening of economic reform and for consolidation around a program of broad public forces actively supporting perestroyka.

Gro Harlem Brundtland expressed hopes for the success of democratic transformations in the Soviet Union, considering them an important factor and a component part of the process of humanizing international relations and their stabilization on the basis of mutual trust and cooperation.

During the exchange of views both sides showed an interest in problems of the environment; the preservation and restoration of the purity of territorial ecological systems; development of internatioal cooperation in protecting the environment of the Arctic, in particular the Kola Peninsula and other regions of the European north.

Also touched upon were certain aspects of Soviet-Norwegian relations. Gratitude was expressed by the Soviet side for Norwegian assistance in the matter of restoring regions in Armenia which suffered from the earthquake.

CPSU Delegation Ends Visit to Spain, PSOE

LD1501231990 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Madrid January 15 TASS—The mutual interest in the development of relations and cooperation between the two parties has been stressed by the Soviet Communist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE).

A delegation from the Soviet Communist Party, led by Central Committee member Grigoriy Revenko who is also first secretary of the Kiev party committee, visited Spain at the invitation of the ruling Spanish Socialist Workers' Party to discuss matters relating to the development of mutual contacts.

During the visit, the Soviet delegation met leaders of the PSOE, toured Catalonia where its members familiarised themselves with the activity of the Party of Socialists of Catalonia, had talks with the parliamentary socialist group and met chairman of Catalonia's autonomous parliament and the mayor of Barcelona. The head of the delegation met with Deputy Prime Minister Alfonso Guerra, who is also deputy secretary general of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party.

During the discussion the Spanish side displayed considerable interest in Soviet perestroyka and expressed active support of the deep transformations in all spheres of Soviet society. The pressing need to observe the Helsinki Accords and the inviolability of the post-war borders in Europe was stressed.

It was noted that the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party favoured the Helsinki-II conference and the transformation of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation into political alliances. The PSOE opposed the U.S. aggression in Panama.

The Soviet Communist Party delegation showed interest in the Spanish party's parliamentary activity, the work of socialists in the sphere of environmental protection, the social protection of the working people, among trade unions and in theoretical investigations into problems of socialism of the future.

The Soviet delegation extended an invitation to a PSOE delegation to visit the Soviet Union.

The Soviet delegation has left for home.

Culture, Science Agreement Signed With Cyprus

LD1301102890 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin and Deputy Foreign Minister of the Republic of Cyprus A. Agelidis signed today the programme for cultural and scientific cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cyprus for 1990-1991.

The programme envisages the further widening of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cyprus in the areas of culture, science, education, cinematography, the media and sports.

The programme also envisages direct contacts between creative and youth organiations, and between workers in the arts from the two countries.

Estonia's Vyalyas Arrives for Finland Visit

LD1401222790 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1900 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The Estonian Communist Party leader Vaino Vyalyas has arrived for an almost week-long visit to Finland. [passage omitted]

Meets President Koivisto

LD1501231690 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1700 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] President Mauno Koivisto this afternoon received Vaino Vyalyas, the Estonian Communist Party leader, who is visiting Finland as a guest of the Paasikivi society. Koivisto and Vyalyas had private talks for about half an hour on topical matters. One topic, for example, was the implementation of economic reform in Estonia. Vyalyas will speak at the Paasikivi Society in Helsinki tonight.

Vyalyas on Party Independence

LD1501232290 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1900 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Vaino Vyalyas, the Estonian party leader, hopes that the Communist Party of Estonia will reach a more independent status than currently from the Soviet Communist Party. Vyalyas said at a news conference in Helsinki today that he does not see, however, that a separation from the CPSU is necessary. Vyalyas did not want to comment further on the decision of the Lithuanian Communist Party to separate itself from the CPSU.

In the speech he gave at the Paasikivi Society, Vyalyas hoped that Estonia will again gain its traditional role as a mediator beween central Europe and Russia. Vyalyas also hoped for closer ties with the Nordic countries, for example through the Nordic Council.

Finnish Minister on Helsinki Conference Prospects

LD1201112790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The Soviet proposal on this year holding a new conference on security and cooperation in Europe, Helsinki II, is one of the themes of incoming reports. Finland is actively working toward this. Enn Anupyid, our correspondent, has met with Finnish Foreign Minister Passio. Listen to the recording:

[Begin Passio recording in Finnish with superimposed Russian translation] The proposal raised by President Gorbachev is at the focus of topical international dialogue. After the Malta meeting between Presidents Bush and Gorbachev, it is increasingly frequently proposed that this meeting should be linked to the signing in Vienna of the final document on the talks on conventional weapons in Europe.

In our view, this solution would underscore the topical significance attached to this process by all 35 participants in the pan-European conference. At the same time it would be possible to examine the topical problems of development of European politics and to answer the new calls of the time.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that Finnish President Mauno Koivisto expressed in his New Year's address his support for convening this summit meeting conference. We do not rule out that the summit meeting could be timed to coincide with the 1992 pan-European conference, as specified by the joint Finnish-Soviet declaration during President Gorbachev's recent visit to Finland. On the other hand, the convening of the summit meeting already this year will now become increasingly realistic. Finland welcomes and supports this initiative. If a decision to hold the meeting in Helsinki is made, then we are, of course, prepared for it. But we are not pursuing a jealous struggle for the place where the coming meeting should be held. We support the development of the process itself, and we stress the need for participation in this meeting by all 35 countries-participants of the pan-European conference. [end recording]

Sitaryan Arrives for Finnish Cooperation Meeting

LD1601092290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Helsinki, 15 Jan (TASS)—Stepan Sitaryan, chairman of the Soviet side of the commission and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived here today to take part in a meeting of co-chairmen of the permanent intergovernmental Soviet-Finnish commission on economic cooperation.

He was met at the airport by Harri Holkeri, chairman of the Finnish side of the commission, prime minister of the Finnish Republic, and other officials.

Boris Aristsov, USSR Ambassador to Finland, was among the welcoming party.

European Changes Prompt Security Debate in FRG

PM1101133190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Second Edition p 7

[Own correspondent Yevgeniy Grigoryev dispatch under "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "How Will FRG Respond?"]

[Text] Bonn, 10 Jan—Discussions on disarmament issues are flaring up in a new vein. The "Security Model 2000" put forward recently in the GDR by the leadership of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany,

Party of Democratic Socialism] is attracting much interest in political and public circles. It proposes that both German states cut their armed forces by 50 percent by 1991 and that they refrain from all arms modernization. An FRG Defense Ministry spokesman hastened to explain this as a preelection maneuver by one of the GDR ruling parties.

Against the backdrop of the ideas put forward in the GDR and the specific steps that have been taken, such as the reduction of obligatory military service to 12 months, the FRG policy so far appears ossified and lacking in initiative. Military service in the Bundeswehr lasts 15 months. Moreover, the question of extending it to 18 months has not yet been formally removed. Major arms programs remain intact. One of them—"Eurofighter-90"—is estimated at DM50 billion. The possibility of modernizing, with certain reservations, it is true, the NATO tactical nuclear missile potential deployed on FRG territory has not yet been completely ruled out either. The only thing planned regarding the Bundeswehr is to cut it from 495,000 to 420,000 men.

It is said that there are also plans in the Bonn Defense Ministry's safes to cut the army to 350,000 men. However, this is still in the realm of rumor. There is no official confirmation. Programs at the implementation stage are now being debated in political and public circles. For instance, the aforementioned "Eurofighter-90" project is meeting with strong opposition. The assumption is being expressed that it is not very likely to gain backing in the Bundestag. As for the modernization of tactical nuclear missiles, as Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher reasonably stated: "This cannot and must not be our response to the democratization in central and Eastern Europe."

The changes in the European situation are also prompting debate on security structures in the continent. B. Wilz, spokesman for these questions of the CDU-CSU [Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union] parliamentary party, is advocating on behalf of his party the idea of some kind of "security alliance."

It would be called upon to unite European states, even neutral states, minus the Soviet Union and the United States. The latter would merely play the role of the alliance's guarantors.

Sometimes it is claimed here that the FRG cannot make decisions on its own since it is integrated into NATO. However, in the opinion of certain West German observers this cannot and must not prevent the FRG from coming out with specific initiatives in the disarmament sphere.

Icelandic Ambassador to USSR Arrives 8 Jan

PM1201162590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 90 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 8 January O. Egilsson, Icelandic ambassador to the Soviet Union, has arrived in Moscow.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. 'Vandalism' of Nicaraguan Embassy Viewed

PY1301142890 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Events in Panama force journalists to bang at their typewriters, whether they like it or not. The Yankee soldiers recently broke into the residence of the Nicaraguan ambassador in Panama. A meeting of the OAS Permanent Council was then held to look into this problem. Indignation over the abuses by Washington was expressed in a resolution of this inter-regional organization.

We are going to recall these events for you in detail, and, in passing, we will give our opinion. On 29 December, gringo soldiers broke into the house of the Sandinist ambassador. The world, and particularly PRENSA LATINA, recognized that abuse as a violation of the Vienna Convention, to which all civilized countries have subscribed. This is an unprecedented violation of diplomatic immunity, but why refer to the Vienna Convention when such a misdeed would have been frowned upon by barbarian communities like the Teutons and [word indistinct] of the past.

The Yankee occupiers immediately realized their mistake and said that the current Panamanian authorities, when they gave the interventionists a list of addresses of houses that were to be searched, included that of ambassador [name indistinct]. The Latin American governments dismissed such a laughable explanation.

On 8 January, the OAS Permanent Council held a special session to discuss that act of vandalism, and it demanded that yankeeland respect the peoples' rights. This resolution was approved by a vote of 19 to 0, with 10 abstentions. What happened? The U.S. representatives abstained, trying to show that the United States did not vote against the resolution. The United States wants to show that it respects for the Vienna Convention and that it violated diplomatic immunity only because of the misunderstanding of the soldiers who raided the house of the ambassador.

Some news agencies have reported that gringo officials have given these explanations in a furious tone, that the general [not further identified] has received the resolution [words indistinct]. Very well, perhaps [words indistinct] as usually happens when the films roll: they kill, murder, rob, etc. This time the Vienna Agreement has not been violated, but [passage indistinct].

The Yankees also wanted to raid the nunciature, where General Noriega had sought refuge. Officials from Washington expressed their opposition to this idea. Some U.S. television stations urged their audiences to phone and

give their opinion on the matter, because this was not just an ordinary embassy, but that of the Vatican.

This means that for the gringos the Vatican Embassy can by no means be compared to the Nicaraguan Embassy. For many, [words indistinct] regarding the OAS session. These are the facts under investigation.

These incidents are regrettable, because in addition to the violation of the Vienna Agreement, the UN statutes have also been violated. Nevertheless, perhaps it is not necessary to explain the importance of respecting international laws. It is said that the states must be respected; so must be the world.

Meeting Protests U.S. Actions in Panama

LD1201204590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1535 GMT 12 Jan 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Biryukov] Now to events in Panama. The U.S. actions evidently, to a certain extent, do not fit into the framework of normal human ideas whereby in the not-too-distant past, but in our civilized times, the home of a sovereign country is invaded with arms and its leader is hunted. All this at first evoked clearly a certain sense of shock, so that both the mass information media and the public evidently were, to put it simply, struck dumb. This is clearly why there was something of a delay in reaction, as happened with this public meeting which took place in Moscow, and which you will now see.

[A. Serikov, correspondent] [Video shows man addressing a meeting in a hall] These people were brought here by a feeling of alarm for the destiny of the Panamanian people, who have become the victim of cruel aggression. The speakers said that whatever motivated the organizers of the intervention, an act of blatant arbitrariness has been committed in respect of the sovereign Republic of Panama. The fundamental principles of the UN Charter, and the norms of international law and of civilized interstate relations have been trampled upon. The activists of political parties, trade unions, and of youth organizations have become victims of the terror of the occupiers. The representatives of the Soviet Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America, and of other public organizations demanded an end to the aggression and investigation of the arbitrariness of the occupying forces. A document, which was adopted by those who assembled, will be sent to influential international organizations.

[Begin recording of K. Khachaturov, chairman of Soviet Committee of Solidarity with Peoples of Latin America] The armed aggression against Panama is, in my view, also an element in our domestic life. The point is that this aggression is a veritable present for our conservatives, who assert that one must not waive principles, that one should not have withdrawn from Afghanistan, that one should not agree to reductions of the armed forces. And, on the other hand, the advocates of the opposite viewpoint timidly declare and warn: For heaven's sake, do not muddy relations with the United States. At the same time, we, precisely because we are active advocates of further advance of the dialogue with the West, merely wish to recall one truth, that always and everywhere impunity for one partner transforms him into the side which dictates its own conditions. [end recording]

Political & Social

Situation in NKAO, CPSU Delegates' Visit Reported

9 Jan Clash Described

NC1201131790 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 11 Jan 90

[ARMENPRES correspondent A. Grigoryan report: "Developments in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, NKAO"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 11 Jan (ARMENPRES)—The ARMENPRES correspondent asked Grant Melkumyan, second secretary of the Stepanakert city party committee, to recount the incident on 9 January in Stepanakert.

He said: Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, arrived in Stepanakert on 8 January. During the meeting with the members of the Special Administration Committee and first secretaries of rayon and city party committees, he said that Andrey Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, will visit Stepanakert on 9 January accompanied by a number of Azerbaijanian officials. In my opinion, the aim of their visit was to formulate measures for the practical implementation of the Supreme Soviet's latest decision on NKAO. The Armenian population of the oblast did not accept that decision.

On 9 January the troops had taken control of the road leading from Lenin Square to the airport. Hearing about these developments, the population of Stepanakert left their jobs and took to the streets in protest and with the aim of preventing the arrival of the Azerbaijanian delegation. The army servicemen used arms, resulting in three innocent people being wounded. Their names are Ishkhan Khachikyan, Lyova Manukyan, and Samuel Mirzoyan. They were taken to the oblast hospital. The situation was getting worse by the minute.

Learning that there was bloodshed again, the city aktiv asked Valeri Atadzhanyan, first secretary of the city party committee, to call Volskiy at the airport. A. Girenko, R.Nishanov, and people accompanying them had already arrived. He needed to be told about the explosive situation in the city. This was done.

The airport director had already reported on the phone that a group of passengers had started a conversation with Girenko and Nishanov and had told them unequivocally that the country's Supreme Soviet 28 November 1989 resolution is unacceptable to the people of Karabakh. And if the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Nationalities came to implement that decision they had better go back.

Atadzhanyan briefed the city aktiv about the content of telephone conversation between him and A. Girenko. The members of the city aktiv, considering the exceedingly tense situation in the city, turned down the proposal for a meeting at the airport. This was the seventh day since the martyrdom of Armen Agopyan during the recent incident, and it heated the atmosphere even more.

Baku Blames Armenians

NC1401110290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 12 Jan 90

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] KOMMUNIST acquaints its readers with the views of journalist Mezakhir Suleyman-zade on its first page. Suleyman-zade's report concerns the way Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities; and Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, were met in Stepanakert. The journalist reports that Girenko, Nishanov, and Polyanichko were met with arms, not with [word indistinct]. Three people were wounded during the (?clashes), one of them seriously.

Meanwhile, the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Organization Committee has begun its work in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. [words indistinct] the concealment of the truth from the people has not been possible. Actually, the people knew well the way the official guests from Moscow would be met in Stepanakert. The high-ranking officials were glad to have returned to Moscow (?in safety). Undoubtedly, they will remember the horrible faces of the [words indistinct] Armenian extremists for a long time.

Needless to say, the (?hasty) departure of a Communist Party Central Committee secretary from an oblast capital is an extraordinary incident in the country's history. Would the central government [words indistinct] or, as usual, describe this incident as the work of a group of extremists? Obviously, a group of extremists fear neither the CPSU Central Committee Politburo nor the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Can the party and government organs, which have been unable to deal with a group of extremists during the past 2 years, succeed in reconstruction?

10, 11 Jan Incidents

NC1401120890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Not a day passes without illegal acts in one area or another in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The situation on the night of January 10 was tense in Hadruyt Rayon where at about 0015, Azerbaijanis from Akhullu village fired at the neighboring (Eydullu) Armenian village. A (?military patrol) was sent to the area, but the situation (?did not improve).

A military officer, Lieutenant Tsymbalyuk, was wounded during the attack. He was taken to a military

hospital in Tbilisi where he died. Junior Sergeant Sapilov was also wounded in the (?head) in the shoot-out. Kalashnikovs, a machine-gun and a large quantity of bullets were stolen from the soldiers by (?the brigands). Following measures taken by the soldiers, the stolen arms and ammunition were returned.

The Hadruyt Rayon procurator has started investigating the matter.

The people in Stepanakert [words indistinct] are facing daily problems, especially due to the situation in the railway station. No trains carrying cargo of importance for the econony arrived there on 11 January.

Weapons Found in Stepanakert

LD1301183190 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Stepanakert January 13 TASS—The situation in the Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Region remains very tense.

Sources at the operational group of the Soviet Interior Ministry, staying in Nagorno Karabakh, reported that a batch of arms was discovered in Stepanakert today. There were two home-made mortars, a machine gun, 17 rifles and tens of various explosive devices in the mail brought there by a Yak-40 plane from Yerevan.

The investigation group of the Soviet Interior Ministry has begun an investigation into this case.

Military Officer Shot Dead

LD1201172390 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 12 Jan 90

["Urgent—officer dies in shoot-out in Nagorno-Karabakh."—TASS headline]

[Text] Stepanakert January 12 TASS—A military officer was shot and fatally wounded in the Azerbaijani village of Akhullu in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region on the night of January 11 as his unit was restoring order in the area.

Lieutenant I. Tsymbalyuk died in a Tbilisi, Georgia, hospital today. Junior Sergeant E. Sapilov was also wounded in the shoot- out.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted.

The village of Manashid, inhabited mainly by Armenians, in Azerbaijan's Shaumyan district on the border with Nagorno-Karabakh, was attacked by gunmen today.

Interior Ministry troops repelled the attack which was launched by Azerbaijani militants wearing bullet-proof vests and armed with submachine-guns. There were casualties on both sides.

The situation in the Shaumyan district remains extremely tense. Additional Interior Ministry troops have been sent to the area.

Special Forces Deployed in NKAO

PM1401144990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 p 1

[Own special correspondent O. Shapovalov report under the general heading "Transcaucasus, 12 January"]

[Text] Stepanakert—"We are in a combat zone"—that is how officers, men, and civilians are assessing the situation prevailing at the moment. Whatever you wish to call the war under way here—a war of rocks or guerilla warfare—it is a war. People are being killed, explosions are going off, the warring sides have taken several dozen hostages. What is the Army's position? It is highly uncomfortable—between the warring factions. There have been increasingly frequent cases of servicemen being provoked to use their weapons.

A program was shown on Yerevan and Stepanakert television 10 January. The producers showed pictures of the hospital where Sh. Khachikyan, L. Mukanyan, and S. Mirzoyan, Stepanakert citizens who were wounded 9 January, underwent operations. These were shown together with pictures taken on the city streets of soldiers taking cover behind shields, and patrols on the streets. It is not hard to imagine the reaction this generated in viewers in Yerevan, Stepanakert, and Shusha.

Just what happened on the day when the delegation comprising a CPSU Central Committee secretary, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and representatives of the Azerbaijani leadership flew in from Baku? In order to prevent them reaching the city a roadblock of rocks, soil, and trucks was placed across the road from the airport. The truck drivers had abandoned their machines and hidden.

"When we had cleared a narrow way through," Senior Lieutenant of Internal Troops G. Dyuzhikh said, "persons unknown with hunting rifles started shooting at a group of militia students. I could see a 'Belarus' tractor moving at high speed through the cleared passage. Its driver had knocked over a Spetsnaz [special troops] man. After this the students and the Spetsnaz started shooting. I did not give my men the order to fire. We tended the wounded and took them to the hospital in an ambulance."

The abortive visit is being assessed in different ways here in Stepanakert. Many people realize that yet another opportunity to find a path to dialogue and a peaceful resolution to the Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] problem has been lost.

There was also an incident involving servicemen in Akhullu Village in the NKAO's Gadrutskiy Rayon. Last night Platoon Commander Igor Tsymbalyuk, a lieutenant with the internal troops, was seriously wounded. He and Junior Sergeant E. Sapfilov had decided to check on what had been unloaded from three trucks that night during the curfew. When they entered the lodge they had headed for, threats were shouted at the soldiers. One of the three militia staffers who was there, apart from the

civilians, shot at the lieutenant. The sergeant was stunned by a blow to the head. They were both relieved of their weapons. According to preliminary information, one of the attackers was militia staffer N. Guseynov. Tsymbalyuk, who graduated from college last year, was operated on at the Martuninskiy Rayon Hospital and then sent to Tbilisi, where he underwent another operation. He died on the operating table. An investigation is under way into both incidents.

Armed detachments have stepped up their activities in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. Fighting continued for several hours in the vicinity of Manashid Village. The combatants, armed with automatic weapons and wearing bulletproof vests, attacked the village. A Spetsnaz subunit commanded by Captain Spiridonov used its weapons. There have been fatalities. Capt Spiridonov, the NKAO Special Region Headquarters reported, was taken to the hospital with an arm wound. An additional Spetsnaz contingent has been helicoptered into the Manashid area.

Fighting, Arms Seizure Reported

PM1401163990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 p 1

[Own special correspondent O. Shapovalov report: "There Was Shooting Here Yesterday...."]

[Text] Stepanakert—The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, bordering Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO], is now one of the hottest spots in the Transcaucasus. The previous day there were armed clashes here between residents of the Armenian village of Manashid, Azerbaijani guerrilla [boyeviki], and an internal troops subunit. There have been rumors today that Spetsnaz [special troops] forces shelled the civilian populace from a helicopter.

I met with a resident of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon—a guide who was in the helicopter ferrying the military. Here is what he said.

"When we landed you could already hear the shooting. People dressed in paramilitary uniforms and wearing flak jackets were attacking the village. There were around 100 attackers. There were 10 soldiers in the helicopter and Captain Spiridonov. Nobody fired from the air. Battle was joined on the ground."

There were men killed and wounded on the guerrilla side and there were also people wounded among the civilian population and the military. The situation in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, which is inhabited by an Armenian and Azerbaijani population, continues to be extremely tense. It has not yet been possible to localize the guerrilla actions. We are talking about a detachment of hundreds of people armed with automatic weapons and flak jackets.

Nothing is yet known about the fate of the hostages seized 9 January in the vicinity of Kusha-Armavir Village. They include V. Agadzhanyan, first secretary of Shaumyanovskiy party rayon committee, and virtually the entire rayon leadership. The vehicles in which the party, soviet, and economic workers were traveling were stopped on the Azerbaijani-populated territory. The passengers were forced out and taken away in an unknown direction. In response to this, local resident Azerbaijanis were taken hostage in the rayon's Armenian villages.

I was on the point of filing this story when it was reported from the NKAO Special District Headquarters that a batch of weapons flown in by Yak-40 from Yerevan had been detained at Stepanakert Airport. I looked at the firearms and ammunition laid out on the tarpaulin—there were two home-made launchers (specialists suggested that they could have been used as mortars), a home-made submachinegun, hunting rifles, primitive grenades, fuse assemblies, and safety fuses. One should bear in mind that it was planned to send all this into the combat zone. The weapons were hidden among bales of the latest newspapers and mailbags.

One last peace of news: Water and heat supplies to the building where the military are quartered in Stepanakert have been resumed. In the light of the deteriorating situation the local population's attitude to the Army has clearly warmed somewhat.

'Ultimatum' on Nakhichevan Border Deplored

PM1201144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 1

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent F. Ivanov report: "Nakhichevan: Order Being Restored"]

[Text] After 10 days of destructive actions on the Nakhichevan section of the Soviet-Iranian border relative calm has finally arrived. Only individual groups of local inhabitants are trying to penetrate the border strip, coming out on the banks of the Araks, and continuing to dismantle the fencing system.

But most of these attempts are being cut short by the border guards, and those arrested at the border are being handed over to the local internal affairs organs. On 10 January on the bank of the River Araks three people who were hunting swans were arrested by the border guard detail. Their weapons were confiscated. On that day a large group of local inhabitants, who were trying to continue to wreck the fencing, had gone up to the border only in Ilichevskiy Rayon. But here, too, the border guards were able to persuade people to abandon their illegal intentions.

At the oblast party committee a headquarters has started operations, at whose sittings the operational situation in the autonomous republic is being analyzed and measures are being outlined to resolve the conflicts.

On 10 January in the Nakhichevan border guard detachment for the first time there was a peaceful meeting of the border guard leadership with representatives of the People's Front. Both sides had the opportunity to

express their proposals. So, dialogue between the border guards and the informals has begun.

At the end of the conversation I met with its participants. This is what B. Gambarli, member of the Nakhichevan People's Front Bureau, said:

"We demand to be given the opportunity to have direct contacts with our relatives by 15 January. If the authorities won't help us, we will pitch a tent camp on the banks of the Araks and we will live there until 30 January. If something is still not done, we will organize such meetings ourselves. We are very worried by the increase in the border guard detachments, but we hope that the soldiers will show sense and will not use force. Otherwise we will cross the Araks en masse...."

These are the demands. But it is quite clear that putting them forward in this ultimatum form and addressing the border guards is at the very least pointless. It is not within their competence. Today talks are being held on the whole range of problems at the level of the Soviet and Iranian foreign ministries. Why force the situation and whip up events, putting demands to those who simply do not have the right to solve them? One more thing: It should not be forgotten that the border guards here are fulfilling their military and constitutional duty.

Colonel of the Border Guard Troops V. Zhukov, chief of the Nakhichevan border guard detachment:

"Today the only point on which we have reached agreement with the People's Front is the discussion of the facts of the barbarous destruction of our installations—towers, searchlights, and border signs—which have nothing to do with the fencing put up, and also the destruction of the cemetery at Dzhulfa. As for the rest, our positions still differ. I cannot agree with the People's Front opinion that we have allegedly usurped their right to the land. In just 11 months last year we issued 266,000 permits for agricultural work in the border strip. Moreover, 31 December we informed the People's Front of the decision to dismantle a number of sections of the fencing. But none of this prevented the pogrom. Now new ultimatums are being put forward. I would like to repeat once again: All the People's Front demands can be solved only on a bilateral basis; such talks are already in progress with Iran. But until they end, no one has the right to violate the country's border of his own will. I hope that Nakhichevan's inhabitants will demonstrate the necessary restraint and will not provoke us into using force."

... According to border guard information, recently about 30 people crossed into Iranian territory illegally. As before, the border is exposed, and now joint efforts by all interested sides are needed to restore order there.

Return of Nakhichevan to Armenia Urged

NC1301205890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Stepan Stepanyan commentary: "Unprecedented Barbarism"]

[Excerpts] Devastation and banditry unprecedented in our history took place along the Soviet-Iranian border at the turn of the year. [passage omitted]

The question arises: What is the goal and plan of those who organized and participated in this crime against the state? The basic component of their plan is a demand for the unification of Azerbaijan with part of Iran. Understandably, such a territorial demand can only worsen Soviet-Iranian relations and create tension on the southern borders of the USSR. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, the crimes of the Azeri authorities and brigands are not being condemned by the central state and party bodies in the land of soviets. The organizers of these crimes are not being called to account. [passage omitted]

What conclusion can one draw from the anti-state and anti-Soviet acts committed in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic? The conclusion is this: Only the Armenian people, who, as history confirms, are the legitimate owners of Nakhichevan, can defend that territory. Proceeding from this simple truth, the unjust Russian-Turkish treaty of 16 March 1921 must be pronounced illegal, abrogated, and considered null and void. In this way, the criminal plans of pan-Turkism may be obstructed and Nakhichevan, which is the cradle of the Armenian people and an integral part of the Ararat valley, may be returned to Soviet Armenia.

It is to the point to mention that clashes recently took place in Dzhalilabadskiy Rayon between the Azeris and the Talish. The latter are the original inhabitants of Lenkoran; they have Persian roots and are a separate people. According to some data, they number almost half a million. However, like many people living in present-day Azerbaijan, such as Kurds, Tats, Lezkis, Budughs, Khris, and Chinalukhs, they have been forcibly assimilated. The basic rights of non-Azeris are constantly trampled upon. The important question arises: Why are so many crimes and so much barbarity committed in Azerbaijan? The reply is simple and unequivocal: An unpunished criminal runs wild and commits greater and more horrible crimes. Under these conditions, it is a vital necessity to unite all the forces of the Armenian people in order to ensure the security of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Armenia as a whole. After all, someone who violates and destroys state borders is capable of greater savagery.

Azeris, Russian Leaders Criticized

NC1501145790

[Editorial report] A commentary by Vagram Avetyan monitored with very poor reception from Yerevan International Service in Armenian at 2130 GMT on 12 January refers to previous border violations by Azerbaijanis in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Azerbaijan and points out that some of the sharp debates at the Armenian Supreme Soviet session on 9 January also centered around these developments. Avetyan says: "Some of the deputies insisted that all these debates had no direct relation to Armenia and that the security of Nakhichevan's borders was a matter of concern for the central authorities. Others did not share this view, believing that these acts were directed primarily at Armenia (?and these acts were organized) to bring in arms to Azeri brigands. In our view there could not be two opinions on this issue: The savagery in Nakhichevan is primarily directed against Armenia and is intended to exacerbate the situation, create confusion, and, at a conducive moment, to unleash new crimes this time around within Armenia." The commentator adds: "The 1988 and 1989 massacres in Azerbaijan, the series of [words indistinct] decisions passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet, the anti-Armenian hysteria in the central press and television, the blockade of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and then of Armenia, and finally the polite reproach of the authorities concerning the incidents along the borders and in Nakhichevan are all loops on the same chain."

The commentator continues: "It is obvious that the central press and television are not independent but that they are under the control of the sole political force in USSR, that is, under the Communist Party; to be more correct, under the Central Committee, and to be more precise, under the unrelenting and alert Politburo." "Thus, the real factor behind the acts committed against our people is not the existence of Armenian-haters, but instead the principles endorsed by the current political leadership in Russia. What are these principles? To begin with, to introduce changes without changing anything, or using a Gorbachevian term, to restructure without restructuring. We would not have the right to arrive at such a conclusion had there not been the experience of the last 4 years, since April 1985, when the problems faced by the Soviet Union worsened. One should look at the problem from a wider angle: The situation is getting worse not only in the interethnic sphere but also in all the spheres of political, social, and economic life."

The commentator also adds: "Satisfying the just demands of the Armenian people would have laid the groundwork for major changes [words indistinct] and would have ushered in democracy, sovereignty of republics, to a law-governed state." "This is the source of the hatred toward Armenians; it is in fact a hatred of anything novel, democratic, free, and just." "Yes, the restoration work in the disaster zone is proceeding slowly, Armenia is under blockade, and the situation in Artsakh is very tense; and now there are the Nakhichevan incidents. It is as though a circle were closing around Armenia, but let us not forget that the circle is also closing around administrative-command socialism, which is bit by bit losing its props not only outside the USSR but also in the minds of the Soviet peoples."

A report by Khrachui Palandozyan monitored with fair to poor reception from Yerevan International Service in Armenian at 2200 GMT on 12 January also refers to the border developments and the related debate in the Armenian Supreme Soviet. The reporter quotes USSR people's deputy Artvin Grigoryan as saying that another reason for including the NKAO within Armenia's budget was that the money allocated for the NKAO by the central government was not sent there. The deputy said: "If all of the money earmarked for the NKAO to enable it to decide its own destiny had been sent there, then there would have been no need for that [the deicision to include NKAO in the Armenian budget]." She then quotes poet Vachik Galoyan, the represntative of Veratsnunt organization, as saying that Azeris resorted to border actions to prevent Armenia from establishing ties with Persia [as heard].

The reporter adds that amending Article 75 of the Armenian Constitution would make "reunification with NKAO irreversible and prevent gross intervention in Armenian affairs and violation of Armenia's borders."

Azerbaijan Government Criticizes People's Front

PM1401131990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Report by own correspondent A. Dzhalilov under the general heading "Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR): Situation Has Become Exacerbated"]

[Text] Baku—The members of informal organizations explain their actions by the delay in resolving the Karabakh question and the anticonstitutional action of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet session which adopted a resolution including in the republic's state socioeconomic development plan a corresponding plan for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

A report by the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers on the events that took place in Lenkoran published in republic newspapers on 12 January says: "The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers resolutely condemns the attempt by the People's Front to disorganize the work of the local organs of power by violent means and complicate the situation in the region.

"All this is being done despite the efforts of the republic leadership to strengthen the unity of the people and consolidate actions with the People's Front and other social movements."

Government's Resignation Demanded

LD1201205190 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Northern Ireland 2000 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Azerbaijani newspapers are carrying a statement by the republic's government censuring the Popular Front's attempt to forcefully disrupt the work of local government bodies and aggravate the regional situation. The statement was made following the latest developments in Baku, Lenkoran, and Dzhalilabad, that have had a destabilizing effect on the republic. In Lenkoran, for one, power was taken on by the informal popular front, which also captured the local radio station and set up what it called a provisional committee to control law and order.

A rally was staged in Baku on Thursday to demand the resignation of the republic's government, which, speakers suggested, is in no condition to deal with problems facing Nagorno-Karabakh.

Correspondent on 'Exacerbated' Azerbaijan Situation

LD1201152590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] As you know, the situation in Azerbaijan has again become exacerbated recently. The reasons for this are the well-known events along the Soviet-Iranian border in Nakhichevan ASSR, the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the meetings and rallies in Baku and many other towns of the republic which followed in the wake of the decision of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

Leonid Lazarevich, Radio Mayak special corresondent, has been here with us for several days now. We thought it would be better if he told you what he thinks on this score and what he saw with his own eyes. Leonid Pavlovich, please go ahead:

[Lazarevich] Right from the start I began to hear stories about exchanges of fire, seizure of hostages, the blowing up of two bridges in Nagorno- Karabakh. To begin with, I found it incredible. It seemed as though these were simply rumors, that it could not be. But the reports of the Ministry of Internal Affairs confirmed this. Yes, seizures of hostages and exchanges of fire have become a reality of local life. These incidents, although not so frequent, nevertheless take place several times a week. This can only agitate the population.

As a result of this, you have meetings, meetings at which justified indignation is voiced. But it also happens that you hear calls which I simply cannot understand. It seems to me that, as always when passions run riot, the upper hand is gained by elements that are far from being the best, strongest, or most progressive. When the sea is stormy there is much scum on top. Here, it seems to me, the party and soviet workers ought to work with considerably more precision and activeness. Meetings in connection with the decisions made by the Armenian Supreme Soviet took place at very, very many enterprises in Baku. Collectives, shops, and teams adopted telegrams. [passage omitted]

Precise and timely action is what is needed above all else when the situation is exacerbated and complicated. Any delay or prevarication merely serves to tighten the knot further. But it seems that it can no longer be tightened any more. [passage omitted]

If all the good decisions that have been made had been implemented, we would surely not be speaking often about the slow course of perestroyka in our country. What is currently taking place in both republics is, in my view, connected with the fact that peresroyka's progress is all too often strained, difficult, and that—as it has already begun to be said—it is stalling. [passage omitted]

Demonstrators Seize Control of Azerbaijan Cities

LD1201181290 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS—At a rally in Baku, capital of Soviet Azerbaijan, on Thursday speakers demanded the resignation of the republican government which, they said, was unable to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. IZVESTIYA reported the action today, quoting the command of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops.

Speakers also demanded the expulsion of ethnic Armenians from Baku and called for a mass march on Nagorno-Karabakh should the authorities fail to adopt immediate measures.

"The situation is uneasy in the cities of Lenkoran and Jalilabad," IZVESTIYA said. In Lenkoran, all power has passed into the hands of People's Front representatives. The staffs of the District Party Committee, the Executive Committee, the Military Committee and the Police Department were not allowed to report to work.

The local radio station was seized. A "Provisional Defence Committee" took over responsibility for maintaining law and order.

In Jalilabad, people also support the demands of Baku residents. But according to available information, local party and government bodies are operating.

IZVESTIYA reported that the situation remains tense in the Shaumyan and Khanlar districts of Azerbaijan.

Baku Organizations Prepare To Demonstrate

NC1301082090 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 13 Jan 90

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] The republic's law enforcement organs have received many indications and reports from citizens over the past few days that the leaders and members of unofficial organizations will demonstrate in front of the

administrative buildings of the Azerbaijan Committee Party Central Committee, Council of Ministers, Committee for State Security, Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Procuracy, and other organizations after the meeting that has been scheduled for 13 January. It has been reported that they intend to occupy and plunder the said buildings in order to disrupt the work of the state apparatus.

The report published in today's newspapers on the matter concluded as follows: The Baku City Party Committee and the Baku City People's Deputies Soviet Executive Committee have appealed to the capital's citizens and urged them to not be carried away by instigations, to resolutely keep from every kind of violent activity, and to act with understanding and caution.

Demand 'Decisive Measures'

LD1401121490 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] The main square of the city of Baku, the capital of our republic, was crowded on 13 January. Hundreds of thousands of people were in the square. The situation that has come about in our republic and most of [word indistinct] in connection with events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh is making everybody anxious. The Nagorno-Karabakh [word indistinct] fabricated by Armenian nationalists has disturbed the population of the republic, caused unjust bloodshed, and made hundreds of thousands of Azerbaijanis leave their homes. [Word indistinct] republic (?and even) central ruling bodies have many times adopted decisions for stabilizing the situation. But, unfortunately, most of these decisions have remained on paper. Acts of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and illegal actions by extremists are creating obstacles to stabilization of the situation. Participants in the meeting unanimously demanded decisive measures, and that the mass media objectively shed light on events.

Azeri Article Alleges Attacks by Armenian 'Extremists'

NC1301130290 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 13 Jan 90

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] [Words indistinct] the article that has been published by the correspondent of KOMMUNIST, Akhmed Isayev, under the heading: Is there no limit to lack of control?

Isayev writes emotionally about the tense situation which has been created in (?Zencibatir). He notes that armed Armenian extremists openly attack Azerbaijani towns. People have been killed and wounded. The article points to a number of painful facts in the region during the past few days.

'Hoodlums' Provoke Riots in Baku, Casualties Noted

LD1301182390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 13 Jan (AZERINFORM-TASS)—Riots and disturbances were provoked in Baku this evening by groups of hoodlums. Tragic events have taken place and there are casualties.

Measures to stabilize the situation are being taken by party, local soviet, and law enforcement bodies. Persons suspected of committing acts of violence have been detained by the internal affairs organs. An investigation is under way.

The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, the presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, and the republic's Council of Ministers have decisively and angrily condemned the criminal actions of the hoodlum elements. They have also called upon the people of Baku and the working people of the entire republic to display a high degree of responsibility and the maximum restraint and organization and to render assistance to the law enforcement organs in securing public order and a normal situation in every inhabited place.

12, 13 Jan Clashes in Baku Cited

NC1401184990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] According to the Baku City Internal Affairs Administration, clashes took place in various parts of Baku 2 nights ago. A number of people have been killed or wounded. The militia workers were unable to [words indistinct] in some places. Most of the militia workers were in Nizami District on 13 January. A meeting was held in the square in the district. A number of individuals have been detained by [words indistinct], and an investigation has been initiated.

Meanwhile, stirring reports have been received from Nagorno-Karabakh. The internal affairs units have been attacked, and the military barracks in Tug was fired upon by unknown individuals with automatic arms on 13 January. Private Mantayev was seriously wounded. A search is under way for the criminals.

Primakov Arrives in Baku To Investigate Pogroms

LD1401161890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 14 Jan (AZERBAIJANI INFORMATION BUREAU—TASS]—The situation in Azerbaijan remains extremely difficult. As already reported, on the evening of 13 January in Baku, groups of hooligan elements provoked disturbances and outrages.

In some places the situation got out of the control. The hooligan groups perpetrated outrages. According to preliminary figures, 25 people are dead. Over 50 pogroms were perpetrated.

The party, local soviet, and law enforcement bodies are undertaking measures to stabilize the situation. Internal affairs bodies have detained people suspected of committing acts of violence. An investigation is under way. In connection with the events which took place on 13 January in Baku, Yevgeniy Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo USSR Supreme Soviet chairman Andrey Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman have arrived in Baku.

Collectives of the Baku enterprises which work around the clock, held meetings at which the working people resolutely condemned the actions of the organizers of the unrest in the capital of the republic. They demanded stronger law and order in the city.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, the presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the republic's Council of Minsters condemned the criminal actions of the hooligan groups and called upon the Baku population and the working people of the whole republic to show high responsibility, a maximum degree of self-restraint and organization, and to assist the law enforcement bodies in ensuring public order and a normal situation in all population centers.

Attacks on Armenian Villages Described

Papers Report Incidents

LD1401125790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 14 Jan 90

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Information from Azerbaijan is truly reminiscient of military reports. Shaumyan Rayon of the republic, which borders on Nagorno-Karabakh, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports, is one of the hottest spots of the Transcaucasus today. Yesterday armed clashes took place here between the residents of the Armenian village of Manashid and Azerbaijani militants, a subunit of the internal troops.

This is what the eyewitnesses reports: About 100 people in semimilitary uniforms and wearing bulletproof vests attacked the village. Soon 10 internal troops headed by an officer arrived there in a helicopter. A battle started. Some of the militants were killed or injured. There are civilian and military casualties. So far it has been impossible to pinpoint localities where the militants are operating.

What is involved here is a detachment numbering hundreds of men. They are armed with machineguns and have bulletproof vests. What is more, according to Gavrilenko, a KRASNAYA ZVESDA correspondent, they move around in helicopters with no identification marks. "Is it not the time to find out who sends these helicopters, and to whom they belong?" the correspondent asks.

Alarming information is coming in from (Kabutaly). There it has gone as far as trenches being dug on both sides.

Army Paper Gives Details

PM1401184190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 First Edition p 1

[Own special correspondent Colonel V. Gavrilenko report: "Azerbaijan: Shooting Audible in the Reports"]

[Text] Gyandzha, 13 Jan—Just like yesterday and a couple of days ago a rally was held in Gyandzha's central square. What were the participants discussing so heatedly?

Central Television was "getting it in the neck" for its incomplete coverage of the visit to Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] by A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities. As were, incidentally, the central newspapers for their biased articles—so it was said—on Azerbaijan. There were also extremist calls to set up armed formations.

Unfortunately, these were not just calls. The commander of a subunit said he had received a visit from envoys representing local informals who demanded to be issued with weapons. A map showing in detail locations of dumps of weapons, munitions, and military equipment, and defense and signaling systems was even confiscated from one of them. It has gone beyond a joke, as they say...

On Friday several armed members of the local People's Front detachment burst into the Gyandzha City Hospital and demanded large quantities of bandages and anesthetics. The senior physician had no option but to carry out their demand...

The situation in Khanlarskiy Rayon is extraordinary in this respect.

Our discussion with officer V. Koroteyev was interrupted by a phone call from Khanlar—the rayon center which is a 15-minute drive from Gyandzha. They were asking for military engineers to be sent out there. Homemade mines, explosives, and hand grenades had been discovered. We went to the area.

The street in front of the rayon internal affairs department building was full of people. I quietly asked my companion what was going on. "It's a sad matter," Viktor Nikolayevich replied, "these are the relatives and friends of the hostages seized over the past few days." Later, at the rayon internal affairs department, I heard noise and shouting in the street on several occasions. Yes, trouble has come to the home of two peoples who have lived alongside each other for centuries.

In one of the department's offices explosives and grenades were laid out on a table in front of the engineers. Senior Lieutenant Oleg Babinskiy, commander of the

combat engineer company, began examining them in a businesslike way. I had never before seen anything like what was lying before us on the table. There were metal cylinders the size of kefir bottles with their ends welded. They had a piece of safety fuse with a burn time of around 10 seconds. They were turned outward along their sides so that the bombs would fragment upon explosion. "The fragmentation radius, judging by the size of the bomb," the senior lieutenant explained, "would be about 20 meters." Alongside these three bombs was a grenade very reminiscent of a "pineapple" [limonka]. Only the knurled metal was brighter than the military variety. But the fuse and the ring were exactly the military, army type. Fragments of such a grenade were found just before New Year's at the site of the tragedy at Kushcha-Armavir. On one of the last evenings in December a grenade was thrown through a window into the apartment where an Azerbaijani refugee family from Armenia was living. The blast killed a child and wounded three women.

Also on the table were a sawed-off hunting rifle, a smoke pot, and a signaling rocket. I picked up the small-bore carbine. Just a few days ago three shots from a similar gun had killed A. Beglaryan, a guard at a farm in Martunashen Village... Why? What for? For what reason? Because he had already sold his house and was planning to move? An investigation is also under way into another incident—but that will not bring back the innocent people who were killed.

As we can see, there is cruelty on both sides.

Here in Khanlar I heard about unidentified helicopters which had come from the other side of the mountains. They were orange-colored and had no numbers or identifying markings. Military pilots told me that they violated all instructions, deviated from established flight-paths, and refused to respond to air-traffic control requests. The armed, bearded guerrillas land in the mountains and let nobody anywhere near them. One of these helicopters recently crashed on take-off. There were fatalities. The local inhabitants and the local authorities know about what happened.

Around 1100 on 12 January an unidentified helicopter appeared in the vicinity of Shaumyanovsk City and started shelling Azerbaijani villages. It landed on the outskirts of Manashid and Todan villages. Extremists jumped out and opened fire. The local organs of power have received information about their activities. Militiamen soon arrived there and a detachment of internal troops, which flew by helicopter to the vicinity of Manashid village, was called out. But the extremists' helicopter managed to escape.

The detachment of internal troops headed for the village, and while landing was shelled by unknown persons. The attack was repulsed by guerrillas of Azerbaijani nationality armed with submachineguns and by eight internal troops servicemen. There were fatalities on both sides.

The day before, 11 January, a Lieutenant I. Tsymbalyuk was fatally wounded while preventing illegal actions in Akhullu Village in the NKAO's Gadrutskiy Rayon...

These senseless fratricidal reprisals have produced yet another form of reciprocal pressure—the taking of hostages. In the first few days of January a group of Azerbaijani electricians carrying out work on power lines were kidnapped in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. A few days later a group of leading workers in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon was detained in Khanlarskiy Rayon. They were going to the funeral of A. Beglaryan, who had been murdered the day before. The weapons lying before us on the table were discovered during a search of vehicles. Admittedly, the neighboring Shaumyanovsk people claimed that all this had been planted on them during the checks...

People are attempting to investigate all this. At the Khanlarskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department I met with Sergey Astakhov, the senior official with the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Operational Investigations Group. Strangely, he was not allowed to oversee the inspection of the Shaumyanovsk vehicles. Sergey told me how hard it is for him to do his job: There are difficulties with transport and communications, not to mention the danger. He has already been held hostage and risked his life in situations very reminiscent of that in which two of his colleagues were killed in the Agdam area last fall. Both they and Sergey Astakhov wanted just one thing—to help the two peoples arrive at a reconciliation.

The situation in Gyandzha City continues to be tense. A rally was again held here yesterday. This is the second day that armed people have been openly walking around the city, making no attempt to hide. We saw them in fatigues and helmets in the areas where there had been clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Weapons are being used.

Companies of 100 men are being set up in the city. The 101st man is the commander. Each company is presented with colors.

The rallies and gatherings have been expressing dissatisfaction with the local authorities for not having taken any measures against the Armenians.

This morning, when I was filing these lines, helicopters without identifying markings were again circling over Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. Isn't it time to find out who is sending in these helicopters? Whose are they? To whom do they belong? What are their payloads and where do they pick them up? After all, they continue to fire on the civilian population with automatic weapons.

Alarming reports have now started coming in from Kubatly. There, too, confrontation is flaring between Azerbaijanis and Armenians. Things have reached the point that trenches are being dug on both sides. Alarming news is coming in from Lenkoran. Yet another difficult day is starting...

Armenian Interior Ministry Statement

NC1401190290 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Statement by the Armenian Internal Affairs Ministry—from Republican Press Review]

[Text] On 13 January 1990 a group of Azeri nationals launched an armed attack against the Armenian-inhabited villages of Azat and Getashen in Khanlarskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan. At the request of the Armenian leadership, the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry has sent units of internal troops there, who checked the attack.

For the last few days a number of servicemen have been wounded by gunfire while defending the Armenian people in Azerbaijan. Captain Ispiritonov of the internal troops was brought to Yerevan last night. He was operated upon and is in satisfactory condition.

Blockade, Shootings Continue

LD1301215190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] These last few days in Azerbaijan, things have been unsettled, worrying. Here's a report from our correspondents Islam Kuliyev and Leonid Lazarevich:

[Kuliyev] We awaited today with trepidation, because at this week's rallies calls were made for the seizure of public and administrative buildings in Baku. We were perfectly aware that most of those who live in the republic's capital are opposed to such action, but unfortunately there might have been some hotheads ready to respond to the provocation. Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijani Council of Ministers, spoke on republic television last night. He urged people to keep calm and emphasized that thoughtless acts could only exacerbate the situation.

[Lazarevich] In the meantime, as we have reported, there was a blockade of the local soviet and law-enforcement bodies and the communications center was seized 3 days ago in Lenkoran. Local radio announced that the local bodies of power suspended their activities. On returning from Lenkoran, where he was carrying out government instructions, Comrade Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, reported that the local bodies of power are still not fully performing their functions. Life in the town is going on as usual, however; enterprises, public transport and the services sector are functioning. At a meeting with the people of Lenkoran, there was criticism over the long drawn-out solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.

All this is happening against the backdrop of ever more worrying and tragic events in different parts of the republic. Here's what we were told by a Ministry of Internal Affairs spokesmen.

[Kuliyev] Unfortunately, there are new reports both of shoot-outs and of new victims. In Khanlarskiy Rayon, for instance, for several days now there have been flights by helicopters with their numbers painted over. They have been landing in villages populated by Armenians, bringing in fighters who are attempting to cut off the roads leading to upland villages. People have been injured as well. In other words, these tragic events have already spread beyond Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Lazarevich] We fully realize that this account of ours today sounds more like a battle report than news from a union republic. In the meantime, life and work go on in Azerbaijan. Today was an ordinary Saturday. We could talk about how people are spending their leisure time or how the working week ended, but we deliberately decided to focus your attention on what we consider to be totally impossible and impermissible. One cannot accept the tragic and painful events we have spoken about, and that's why our report turned out as it did.

Azeri Journal Views Causes of Incidents in Lenkoran

NC1301085690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 13 Jan 90

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] What has happened in Lenkoran? Under this heading, KOMMUNIST publishes brief reports by its correspondents Takhir Rustamov and Zulfiqar Rusetoglu on the incidents in Lenkoran. It has become clear from these reports that the Lenkoran incidents have been caused by procrastination on the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the failure of the measures put into effect by the union government to yield any results. All this and the failure of the rayon's organizations to adopt an objective approach on these matters, which have made the people feel uneasy, have spawned the present incidents.

KOMMUNIST also published an official report that Artur Rasi-zade, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, who traveled to Lenkoran in accordance with the instructions of the republic's government, has returned to Baku. An AZERINFORM correspondent asked his opinion on the situation in Lenkoran. He said: Work is continuing normally in Lenkoran. The establishments continued their work during the incidents and are doing so now. However, the local government organs are not working at full capacity. The impermissible procrastination in settling the NKAO problem and the failure to politically assess the activities of the Amenian SSR, which has been distorting the USSR Constitution and interferring in the Azerbaijan SSR's internal affairs, was criticized during the meetings held with the Lenkoran people. Other matters related to the city's social and economic development were also discussed, and necessary measures will be taken in this regard.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Continues Discussions

NC1301102590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] The 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Soviet Armenian Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations yesterday morning at Stepan Shaumyan Hall.

Beatriche Stepanyan, deputy chairwoman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, opened the session.

For more than one hour the deputies argued about whether to commence or postpone the session. Finally, they decided to continue deliberating. In order to debate the issues on the agenda at the appropriate level, it was proposed to replace the presiding chairwoman and change the manner of conducting the debate. It was proposed that Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, should preside over the session.

Voskanyan proposed that the debate should continue on examining the articles of the Soviet Armenian Constitution. The Supreme Soviet adopted substantial portions of the articles presented to the session, which will continue its deliberations today.

NKAO Health Services Added to Armenian Ministry

NC1301201090 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] The Armenian Health Ministry has been working for more than 1 and ½ years now to provide assistance, in terms of medicine and cadres, to the health services of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and bolster their material and technical base.

Various health departments and associations in Yerevan and in other regions of the republic are giving practical support and assistance to the health services of each rayon in the NKAO. A diagnostic clinic opened in Stepanakert has been of particular value to the Artsakh [NKAO] specialists. It possesses advanced medical equipment. With the intention of training appropriate cadres for the NKAO, 12 young people from Artsakh have been enrolled in the Yerevan state medical institute. The same number of students have been enrolled in the preparatory classes.

Recently an Armenian Health Ministry delegation headed by Ardashes Aznavuryan, the republic's health minister, visited the NKAO. The delegation familiarized itself with the deplorable condition of the health services there. A plan for further joint work was formulated. However, the most important measure taken was the decision that henceforth any work done for the Artsakh health services will not solely be in the form of assistance or support, rather it will be undertaken as a joint enterprise. Important prerequisites for this have already been created. The ministry recently endorsed a series of important decisions in accordance with which the NKAO health department, with all the components of its health service, was integrated into the structure of the republic's ministry as one of its integral and constituent units. Tatavosyan, the director of the NKAO health department, was unanimously elected a member of the collegium of the ministry during the meeting. A coordination committee was formed to organize the joint work purposefully and productively.

Armenian Ethnic Council Revives Newspaper

NC1401145990 Yerevan International Service in Armenian GMT 1630 13 Jan 90

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] ethnic council adopted a decision to revive the newspaper KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH as its organ. The decision points out specifically that because of the absence of an oblast party committee and an executive committee, and on the basis of the 1 December 1989 joint decision by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet and the NKAO ethnic council, KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH or SOVETSKIY KARABAKH will be considered as the organ of the NKAO's ethnic council by making the necessary changes in the newspaper's (?title).

IRNA Notes Demonstration Along Soviet Border

LD1401043690 Tehran IRNA in English 1545 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Jolfa (azarbayjan-e Khavari), Jan. 13, IRNA—Over 1,000 Muslims of Soviet Azerbaijan, braving the freezing weather and chanting 'Allah-o Akbar' (God is the greatest) held a peaceful gathering across this border town, yesterday.

Soviet border guards in military uniforms stood aloof at a distance watching the three hour gathering, during which their Muslim compatriots including women and children shouted Islamic slogans and sent messages in Azeri to their relatives across the River Aras in Iran.

Roughly the same number of people of this border town stood on the Iranian side of the river, cheering and responding to their brethren from the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Muslims also threw coins and other small articles as gifts on the other side of the river.

People on both sides of the Iran-Soviet border have strong historical links sharing a common religion, language and culture.

Velayati Visits Tabriz, Remarks on Azerbaijan

LD1301182490 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1600 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Velayati arrived in Tabriz this morning, at the head of a delegation, to appraise the arrangements made by Eastern and Western Azarbayjan Provinces to properly receive the Muslim people of Soviet Azerbaijan.

The delegation's visit follows the recent developments in Soviet Azerbaijan, demonstrations and requests by the Muslims for more facilities for travelling to and establishing cultural and commercial ties with Iran. While holding talks with Eastern Azarbaijan officials, the delegation appraised the arrangements made to properly

receive the Muslim people of USSR, during tours, as agreed by the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Soviet Union.

Regarding the arrangements made to receive Soviet Muslims, in an interview with a Tabriz Central News Bureau correspondent, Velayati said:

[Begin Velayati recording] After President Hashemi-Rafsanjani's trip to the Soviet Union, a number of agreements were signed between the Iranian and Soviet Governments, including one on the provision of consular and tourist facilities between the two countries. Over the past few weeks, following the recent global and regional developments and the growing number of requests by Muslims in Soviet republics where Muslims reside, particularly Soviet Azerbaijan, for these facilities or for a speedier implementation of agreements previously reached by the two governments, and also due to the fact that the Soviet Government raised the issue through various means, including the trip by Deputy Foreign Minister Vaezi and the trip by the head of the Foreign Ministry passpost office to Baku, the Islamic Republic of Iran declared its readiness to implement the agreements signed during Hashemi-Rafsanjani's trip. We informed the Soviet side that we could see no difficulties in receiving Soviet Muslims who want to visit our country, in accordance with the signed agreements.

Accompanied by a number of our brothers and colleagues from the Foreign Ministry and other establishments, such as the Interior Ministry and the Guidance Ministry, we arrived in Azerbaijan today. We hold a coordination meeting with the governor-general of Eastern Azarbaijan, His Eminence Ayatollah Malakuti, the honorable Friday imam of Tabriz, and other officials of the province to enable us to be better prepared to receive Muslims who come to Iran from our neighboring country. [end recording]

Regarding the recent developments in the Soviet Union, the foreign minister said: Due to the past restrictions in the Soviet Union, fundamental problems were created for that country. Consequently, by arranging certain facilities, the Soviet leaders set out to remove those restrictions. This had extremely deep and widespread political repercussions in the world, the region, and inside the USSR. Thanks to these moves and the opportunity, the Muslim people of Soviet Azerbaijan are now expressing their heartfelt requests, which include the provisions of more facilities for establishing friendly and brotherly ties with other Muslims, particularly the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Views Mediation Proposal, Azerbaijan

LD1301193990 Tehran IRNA in English 1508 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Tabriz, E. Azarbayjan Prov., Jan. 13, IRNA—Iran has no difficulty in receiving Muslims from the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan who want to come to the Islamic Republic to visit its holy shrines, or their relatives, Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati announced here today.

Speaking to reporters Velayati said preparations have been made in this regard and in case of the Soviets agree Iran will host Muslims from Azerbaijan within friendly and good neighbourly relations between the two countries.

"A session was held today for further coordination and preparation in this respect with ranking officials from the East Azarbayjan Province, in which the officials expressed readiness to receive the Muslims from the Soviet Azerbaijan," he said noting that the Culture and Guidance Ministry too had earlier announced its readines.

Emphasizing on the significance of border exchanges in cultural, ideological, and commercial fields as well as implementation of the joint projects Velayati said legal formalities of the joint project for construction of "Khoda-Afarin" and "Qezqalasi" dams over the border areas river have been completed and construction operations will start soon.

On the Soviet mediation proposal for implementation of the U.N. resolution 598 Velayati said "the Islamic Republic of Iran has no problem in principle to consider the proposal positively," however, he added, it should not have any contradiction with the goals of the resolution.

"On the contrary the plan should in fact help the U.N. secretary general, something that the Soviets, too, agree with," Velayati said while stressing that the plan would be useful if it is within the framework of the resolution.

He said Iranian officials are to study the proposal which is to be presented to them by Soviet deputy foreign minister shortly.

Fighting, Casualties Reported in Baku

LD1401094690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0841 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] We now have a telephone link with our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich in Baku:

[Lazarevich] I can hardly hear you, Moscow. Can you hear me?

[Announcer] We can hear you much better. Please go ahead with the news.

[Lazarevich] I cannot bring myself to say it, but I will. It pains my heart and my throat is seized by a spasm, but this report is my duty, the duty of a journalist and a communist. There were pogroms here in Baku yesterday. I was told in the city internal affairs directorate that 53 apartments were wrecked, 22 people died, and 26 were injured, most of which are in a serious condition. Most of the dead and injured are Armenians.

Now, here is how it all started. At noon two Azeris, (Mamedov) and (Tadzhiyev), visited an Armenian family, the (Avanesovs). They began to demand that the (Avanesovs) leave the city, and then the (Avanesovs) brought out an axe. Both Azeris were taken to hospital; one died and the other is now in serious condition. This was announced at a rally that was being held in the central square. There were 150,000 people there. Calls were made at the rally to drive the Armenians out of the city.

When the rally ended the crowd began to disperse. Anti-Armenian slogans were shouted in the crowd and then the most terrible thing of all began, the pogroms. I still have not been in any of the apartments, but I know it was terrible. When there is this number of victims it is simplest of all, of course, to blame the city Internal Affairs Directorate. I think some people will do so quite a few even. But I knew and know how difficult the situation in Baku has been.

You know, prior to this calls were made at rallies for the seizure of the premises of public and law enforcement bodies and of public organizations, and some militia forces has been diverted there. In total, the militia had 1,500 men available at that time, but the calls came in one after another.

Operational groups answered dozens of emergency calls, something like 50. Unfortunately, there were also many hoax calls. It was not possible therefore, to avert so many sad and tragic cases. In dozens of cases, however, the militia saved people. There were also other cases where the Azerbaijanians saved Armenian neighbors, gave them shelter. Nevertheless, the most terrible occurred. You know, there were instigators of the pogroms. There have been arrests and now an investigation is underway. It will obviously be deep and thorough. I very much hope this and believe in this, because I see how selflessly the militia is working now.

I want to make the main point. The situation in Baku is tense. Operational bulletins constantly contain reports about hostages being taken, both Armenians and Azerbaijanians; there is news about exchanges of fire, about tragic events. You know, the Republic is on the boil, hearts are bleeding, and the militia is attempting to do everything it can. I am told reinforcements are coming in, but what guarantee is there the frightful thing which took place yesterday evening and last night will not be repeated? How I would like to tell you that, no, this will not happen. But I am afraid, afraid to say that. Serious, serious measures are needed. A deep analysis of what is occurring in the Republic is required. There is trouble in the Republic. There is grief in the Republic.

We will cover all these events. We hope that the Republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs will inform us today as fully as possible. We will come on the air and tell you about this. There are bitter events in Baku, comrades.

[Announcer] Indeed, Leonid.

[Lazarevich] Major Events. Here it is necessary to immediately draw lessons. It is impossible to wait any longer.

[Announcer] Of course, these are mournful, tragic events. You have told us about them, Leonid. It is impossible to listen to your story without shuddering. I hope you will continue to keep us up to date with events there.

'Unconfirmed' More Than 30 Dead in Baku

LD1401181190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Gennadiy Kalenov, Leonid Lazarevich correspondent report from Baku]

[Text] Terrible events have taken place in the last 24 hours in Baku. Pogroms are taking place here, people have died. Our special correspondents Gennadiy Kalenov and Leonid Lazarevich report the following from the Azerbaijani capital.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] We know that pogroms of Armenians' apartments and taunting of Armenians in the streets started yesterday evening. And the sad result: By the morning, there were 22 dead, and practically every hour, this sad number is getting higher. At present, according to unconfirmed figures, the number of dead exceeds 30, and dozens have been injured.

The events began with two Azerbaijanis threatening an Armenian family and demanding they should get out. Then an axe came down upon them. One Azerbaijani was killed, the other was taken to the hospital in serious condition.

[Second correspondent] This was announced at a meeting attended, according to official figures, by 150,000 people. Crowds of people set out for the rayons in the town where a particularly large number of Armenians live. And it was there that the pogroms began. During the night, order was maintained, but early in the morning a fresh eruption ensued. Telephones are ringing incessantly in the rayon divisions and in the city militia directorate; one after the other, flying squads are going out into the danger rayons. I went with a flying squad on one of the calls. Here is a recording from the site of the event. [sounds of battering, shouts, bangs and thuds, correspondent continues] Well, now the crowd has broken into the courtyard, they are breaking the windows. A pogrom has begun in the apartment. Chairs are flying out of the apartment, the doors are being smashed. How painful it is to see all this! Yet another line in the daily logbook of the Main Internal Affairs Directorate. [more shouting in background]

[Correspondent] From my point of view, the militia is trying to do everything possible to avert each fresh tragedy. Internal troops have joined in to help them. I could see for myself that there are not enough forces and means. Therefore the flying squads by no means always

get there in time. And then the number of casualties goes up. We know that one group of Armenians has been taken out of the city to safety.

[Second correspondent] We have been in Baku for nearly 2 weeks now. And with every day, we could feel how the situation was getting hotter and hotter: Reports about exchanges of fire, hostages, helicopters with identification numbers painted over used to disembark armed assault troops in Azerbaijani villages, have turned Baku into a powder keg. People who have left Armenia have been especially aggressive: A significant number of these have not gotten established in Azerbaijan, they have no homes or jobs. And in this situation, there were people in Baku who poured oil on the fire. Among them were representatives of the People's Front, too.

[Correspondent] It should be said that the People's Front is not a uniform organization: Today I saw people from it rescuing Armenians. One could cite a huge number of examples of heroism in rescuing people. Injured militia men are continuing to carry out their duties. But Baku is in need of help. [end recording]

MVD Official Says Azerbaijan Situation Worse

PM1401162390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Untitled S. Mostovshchikov report under general heading "Transcaucasus: Situation Worsens"]

[Text] Practically the entire leadership of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and the Internal Troops Command spent the weekend at their work places. As we were told by I. Shilov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, the situation in Azerbaijan has worsened.

At around 1400 13 January a rally attended, according to some figures, by around 70,000 people began in Lenin Square in Baku. The demands were as before—the immediate resignation of the republic government unless emergency measures are taken on Nagorno-Karabakh.

In the assessment of the first deputy minister of internal affairs, the situation in the republic capital is being monitored, but it is difficult to say whether it will remain controllable.

Sunday afternoon we contacted the USSR MVD again. The editorial office was told: There have been no changes for the better in the last 24 hours. Interethnic clashes resulting in further fatalities are continuing in Baku. Shooting is going on in Khalarskiy and Shaumyanovskiy Rayons. According to some figures, the warring sides are using helicopters with their identification numbers obliterated. As yet is it not proving possible to establish reliable monitoring of their movements.

Things are extremely difficult for the internal troops located on the republic's territory. During the night a soldier who had sown a stand-up collar onto his uniform was shot with an automatic weapon in Gadrutskiy Rayon. He was shot through a window.

Certain forces' intention to prevent the internal troops from maintaining order is patently obvious. For example, subunits heading out from a military airfield are unable to get through to Baku: Their way is blocked by thousands-strong crowds, with children moved to the front. Direct threats are being made to military airmen tasked with transporting internal troops subunits to the most dangerous areas. In brief, the situation remains extremely tense.

Armenian 'Outrage' at Killings, Rail Blockade

PM1401163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Untitled report by own correspondent S. Bablumyan under general heading "Transcaucasus: Situation Worsens"]

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet session suspended its work 13 January. The adjornment is the result of the sharp exacerbation of the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

The reaction here to the news of fatalities among the Armenian population living in Baku, Shaumyanovskiy and Khanlarskiy Rayons, and other population centers in Azerbaijan has been one of profound alarm and outrage.

Serious difficulties have arisen in Armenia as a result of the railroad blockade reintroduced by the Azerbaijan People's Front. As the Yerevan Department of the Transcaucasus Railroad reported, not a single train has arrived from the neighboring republic in the last 24 hours.

Today, 14 January, as I transmit these lines, a mass rally is starting in Yerevan.

Workers Condemn Actions of 'Instigators'

LD1401185690 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 14 Jan 90

["Situation in Azerbaijan Under Control"—TASS headline]

[Text] Baku January 14 AZERINFORM-TASS—At Baku enterprises that work on a round-the-clock basis meetings were held, at which workers resolutely condemned the actions of instigators of unrest in Baku and demanded that law and order be strengthened in the city.

Groups of hooligans provoked rioting and violence on the night of January 13 in Baku, the Azerbaijan capital, according to previous reports.

Preliminary information puts the number of dead at 25.

The situation is under control of party, Soviet and law-enforcement bodies. Interior Ministry forces have

detained people suspected of having committed acts of violence. An investigation is under way.

In connection with the events that took place on January 13, Politburo Candidate Member Yevgeniy Primakov, Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Andrey Girenko and Deputy Prime Minister Vitaliy Doguzhiyev arrived in Baku.

Situation in NKAO 'Extremely Tense'

LD1401195490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 14 Jan 90

["Urgent: On the Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh"—TASS headline]

[Text] Stepanakert, 14 Jan (TASS)—The situation in Nagorno- Karabakh remains extremely tense. Over the last few days alone, several servicemen of the Interior Ministry troops—Lieutenant I. Tsymbalyuk and Private M. Mantayev—died, and five men were wounded. An officer and three soldiers who, following an alarm, left for a village in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, which adjoins Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] are today regarded as missing in action.

Here too, as in the adjacent Khanlarskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan, interethnic clashes with the use of machine guns and submachine guns have continued for the third day. Additional forces of the Interior Ministry troops have been brought here, but the situation remains extremely tense. The most grave situation has arisen around Armenian villages situated in these rayons. A large concentration of hitmen—members of armed units—who have arrived from other rayons, is in evidence. According to some estimates, there are up to several thousand of them.

According to a report from the Commandant's Office of the special district, military helicopters with landing forces flew there on 14 January to support the groups of Interior Ministry troops which separate the conflicting sides. Approaching the Azerbaijan village of Adzhikend, they were fired upon by antiaircraft guns used for meteorological purposes [gradoboynyy]; there was machinegun and rifle fire, too. One of the helicopters was hit and its navigator, 2d Lieutenant N. Pavlov, was wounded. After the landing force disembarked, the helicopters managed to return safely to base and the wounded man was hospitalized.

Fresh units of Interior Ministry troops arriving at the airport in the town of Kirovabad to replace and reinforce units in and around Nagorno-Karabakh are being blockaded by the local population. Road blocks have been set up, hundreds of vehicles have been massed together, and crowds of people are preventing anyone from getting through. There have been threats of reprisals against pilots and their families from representatives of Azerbayjani informal organizations if helicopters belonging to the local regiment take part in bringing these troops in.

There are dozens of dead and injured of both nationalities among the local population of Shaumyanskiy and Khanlarskiy Rayons. The fate of the Armenian hostages, who include the entire leadership of Shaumyanskiy Rayon, is unknown and there is also no news about the Azerbayjani hostages taken in response by the Armenians.

"The situation today is such that it has become extremely necessary for a state of emergency to be introduced. All possible urgent measures must be taken to protect the peaceful population, including old people, women, and children." That is the opinion of Major General Yu.A. Kosolapov, commander of the special district. He has the support of sensible representatives of both peoples.

Yerevan Says Azeris Might Attack Entire NKAO

NC1401213590 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1900 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Terrible reports are arriving from the Armenian-inhabited lowlands of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon and Getashen Subrayon north of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The Azeris have launched a mass attack against the local Armenians to expel them from their native lands. Those regions have voluntarily integrated themselves with the NKAO and do not recognize the sovereignty of Azerbaijan, which for the last 7 decades has done great harm to the local Armenians.

It is possible that mass armed attacks will be launched against the entire Armenian oblast, against the NKAO [passage indistinct]. The attack launched by Azeris with automatic weapons, helicopters, and armored vehicles against Shaumyan and Getashen is not being deterred by Soviet troops [passage indistinct].

All of this was discussed at mass meetings held today at Yerevan's Freedom Square. The members of the Armenian National Movement and other speakers regarded the present situation in and around NKAO as fateful for the Armenian people and called on the people to start thinking about the defense of their security [word indistinct]. The speakers indicated that there are no means to organize self-defense, since 1and ½ years ago hunting rifles were confiscated from the people in Armenia and Artsakh [NKAO]; and our interior security bodies have been deprived of carrying automatic weapons.

The creation of an Armenian defense body is imperative; it will mobilize all the material and spiritual means to face the danger threatening the very survival of the Armenian people. That this is an extraordinary situation and that our people must act with utmost circumspection and organization was indicated at the mass meeting. [passage omitted]

Yerevan Rally Calls on People To Be Alert

NC1401202290 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Thousands of people took part in a rally in Yerevan theater square today. Many participants called it a nation- gathering meeting. Judging from the statements made at the rally and information coming from various sources, malevolent acts, opression, and massacres are taking place in Baku. A state of war prevails in Getashen and in the surrounding Armenian villages which are being attacked by Azerbaijan Popular Front (?members) armed with modern weapons. The situation grows steadily worse on the Goris- Lachin border, in Berdadzhor village in Shushinskiy Rayon, in Hadrutskiy Rayon, and in other Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast settlements bordering on Azerbaijan.

It was announced during the rally that the Armenian Supreme Soviet session appealed to Mikhail Gorbachev yesterday. After recounting the grave situation, the Armenian parliament has demanded the adoption of urgent measures for the protection and safety of the Armenian population and for the prevention of barbaric attacks which might engender irreparable and disastrous consequences for the entire region. Our people expect that the leadership of the country will accede to this appeal and will take urgent measures to halt (?the enormous) bloodshed.

The speakers at the rally called on our people to be circumspect, alert, and ready to defend security.

Meeting Held in Yerevan; Slyunkov Arrives

LD1401165790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1632 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Yerevan, 14 Jan (ARMENPRESS-TASS)—A city-wide meeting in which over 300,000 people took part was held today in the Armenian capital. The arrival in the capital of the republic of Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Ivan Silayev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman was announced at the meeting.

In connection with reports of pogroms in Baku and an armed attack on Armenian villages in Getashenskiy Subrayon in Khanlarskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan those who addressed the meeting called for restraint, discipline and calm to be maintained and appealed to people not to give in to panic and to provocations. They demanded that extraordinary measures be adopted and that extra military forces be sent to Khanlarskiy Rayon to safeguard the security of the population.

Profound anxiety was unanimously expressed at the disturbances in Baku and in other population points in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic as well as in Armenian rayons bordering on Azerbaijan.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Appeals to Gorbachev

NC1401192590 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 14 Jan 90

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] The papers have also published the appeal by the Armenian republic's Supreme Soviet to Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

An extraordinary situation has developed in Baku, Shaumyanovskiy, and Khanlarskiy Rayons; Getashen, Azat, and Kamo villages; and in other settlements following the armed operations by Azeri extremists against the Armenian population. Lives are being lost and there are incidents of arson. Roads and bridges are being blockaded. Hostages are being taken. Innocent babies, women, and the elderly are suffering.

All of this has made the situation in Armenia exceedingly worse. The Armenian republic's Supreme Soviet had to suspend its deliberations after considering the situation in the region. The Armenian Supreme Soviet appeals to you to take urgent measures to ensure the safety of the Armenian population and to stop the barbaric attacks which might bring about irreparable and disastrous consequences for the entire region.

Armenian Self-Defense Units To Be Created

AU1401153690 Paris AFP in English 1514 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, Jan 14 (AFP)—Hundreds of thousands of nationalists meeting in Soviet Armenia decided on Sunday to create self-defence units and order total mobilization, sources at the Armenian National Movement headquarters said.

The demonstration was held in Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia, soon after Moscow Radio reported that 22 people had been killed in ethnic fighting in Baku, capital of neighbouring Azerbaijan on Saturday.

A "special defence council" is to group official regional authorities and national Armenian representatives who are negotiating with the Armenian government, Armenian sources reached by telephone said.

Armenian militia units have been grouped at a Yerevan airport to be sent to the Shaumian region in Azerbaijan, north of the autonomous Nagorno-Karabakh enclave, after clashes between the two ethnic groups were reported there, sources added.

Azerbaijan and Armenia have been wracked by two years of bloody ethnic clashes between the majority Moslem Azeris and minority Christian Armenians who are demanding that the disputed Nagorno- Karabakh region be incorporated into Armenia.

Primakov Leads Delegation Visit to Azerbaijan

NC1401184190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] The situation has been further strained in our republic during the past few days. In view of this, Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union; Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Doguzhiyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, arrived in Baku. Various establishments in the city which have been working without interruption held meetings to discuss matters related to the question of establishing law and order in Baku and maintaining public order.

Rafsanjani To Visit Moscow 'Later This Month'

LD1401095390 Kuwait KUNA in English 0706 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Kuwait, Jan 14 (KUNA)—Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani will pay a second visit to Moscow later this month, a Kuwaiti daily quoted well informed source Sunday.

The unidentified source told AL-QABAS that Rafsanjani will hold talks with Soviet official on means of calming the situation in the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan because Iran is afraid that violence would spread to the Iranian part of Azerbaijan.

'Principled Stand' Required on Crisis in Lenkoran

NC1401104990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 14 Jan 90

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] The central government's unprincipled stand, the failure to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] during the past 2 years, the lack of information, and the general confusion created by the lack of information have caused the situation in Lenkoran, that is, the interrution of the work of the local party and government organs. According to Rizayev, first secretary of the Lenkoran City Party Committee, the settlement of the dispute which has caused the crisis in Lenkoran depends on the adoption of a principled and resolute stand by the central government on the incidents related to the NKAO problem.

Today, on page four KOMMUNIST published reports by its correspondents Nusetoglu and Rustamov on the situation in Lenkoran.

'Extremists' Impede Rebuilding Destroyed Bridge

NC1401105390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 14 Jan 90

[From Republican Press Review]

[Text] It was reported a few days ago that the bridge at km 82 on the Agdam-Lachin-Shusha motorway, which is in Askeranskiy Rayon and served tens of thousands of people, was destroyed by Armenian extremists. The troops of the internal forces are making a strenuous effort to rebuild the bridge now. However, the extremists are trying to impede their work by organizing obstructive activities in various places.

What is the true situation in that part of the country? The report published in today's BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY replies under the heading: Report From Where the Incident Took Place.

Slyunkov Assures Armenians of 'Major' Measures

LD1501192190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Station correspondent Koryun Khumaryan report from Yerevan]

[Text] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], have expressed their condolences to the families and relatives of the victims of the latest carnage in Baku.

Communists and all working people of the republic, the address says, angrily condemn the acts of vandalism against innocent people, and resolutely demand that the leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR take the necessary measures to provide guarantees of safety for persons of Armenian nationality in the city of Baku and throughout the republic, and that the instigators and executors of the bloody evil deed be strictly brought to justice.

Expressing the will of the people, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Armenian SSR, and the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR demand that the country's central bodies put an end to the unending acts of violence and cruelty against the Armenian population in the territory of Azerbaijan and give a political assessment of what has happened.

Many of those who participated in today's meeting of the republic's party and economic aktiv with Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, came forward with the demand that a political assessment be made of the events in Azerbaijan, and not just recently, but also in Sumgait, the pogroms and the carnage.

An unprincipled [neprintsipialnyy] evaluation of the Sumgait tragedy, the speakers said, resulted in Novyy Uzen and Fergana, too, the breach of the state border in Nakhichevan rayon, and the present carnage in Baku and other populated areas of Azerbaijan.

Only a just solution of the Karabakh problem, whose people are demanding exit from the body of Azerbaijan, can stabilize the situation in the region. During the meeting extreme opinions were expressed, too, such as, if

the central government cannot guarantee the life and safety of the Armenian population of Azerbaijan, of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and also of border rayons of Armenia, then the population must be given the opportunity to defend itself.

Concluding the meeting, Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov said:

[Begin Slyunkov recording] Of course, all the proposals and conclusions you have expressed, your vision and your view, your proposals through your vision of the problems, and your proposals for solving them will not only be studied by us in the most careful way possible but we will try to interpret, to understand, to ponder and to reach through analysis definite proposals for practical activity. What you have said today touches on the essence of life itself and the perestroyka which society is now conducting. I share with you all the anxiety that was expressed in your speeches. This is the kind of problem on which the party's Central Committee and the government will have to take additional measures, and once again not half-measures, but major, cardinal measures to ensure the security of the Armenian population. [applause]

I believe that you need have no doubt about the Central Committee and the Soviet Government not being strong enough to master the situation. [End recording]

Ryzhkov Says Military Needed in Azerbaijan

LD1501162990 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The Soviet head of government, Nikolay Ryzkhov, wants to use the Army to solve the conflict between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis, or at least to stop the conflict. Ryzhkov, in an interview with Norwegian radio's correspondent Kjell-Albin Abrahamsson in Moscow, said that the authorities will not allow the conflict to become a civil war.

[Abrahamsson] Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov today received Norwegian Workers' Party chairperson Gro Harlem Brundtland, and in a short interview for Norwegian journalists, the Soviet premier said that the conflict seems to be difficult to solve, but that the authorities will not allow it to become a civil war between Azerbaijanis and Armenians. (Nikolay Ryzhkov did not elaborate his statement, but it is likely that a state of emergency will be introduced in the whole area, and that further military units will (be sent there).

Deputies Cable Gorbachev Criticizing Vezirov

NC1501194190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Cable sent by USSR Peoples' Deputies Zori Balayan, Vagan Gabrielyan, Vachakan Grigoryan, Boris Dadamyan and Genrikh Pogosyan to Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] The representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front and Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, appeared on Azerbaijan television at 2030 on 13 January 1990. They called on the Azerbaijani people to launch an attack against Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and on Armenian settlements within the republic. Vezirov was picturesquely holding up his (?finger) to imply that if you hit with your finger you break it, so it is necessary for all Azeris to unite and form one single united fist.

We resolutely ask you to obtain the written text of Vezirov's speech. The overt call of the party leader for violence came after the meeting in Baku when a few Armenians were burned alive, nearly 30 were savagely killed, and and nearly that many were taken hostage. The barbaric acts and the calls for violence by the leader of the party organization coincided with the publication in the republican press of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision which, under combat conditions, actually states that the oblast apparatus is submitting to the Azerbaijan leadership. Vezirov is exploiting that very decision in proposing to act immediately.

The representatives of the People's Front and the leadership of the republic are issuing calls to continue the anti-Armenian actions until 16 January, that is before the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which in their view will declare a special situation in the region based on Article 119 of the USSR Constitution. That is why they want to move quickly.

VREMYA program has presented the Vezirov's provocation as a mere condemnation of hooligan actions. Therefore, we adamantly request that you familarize yourself with his speech and take urgent measures to ensure the security of the Armenian population in NKAO and in the other regions of the republic.

Baku Security Official on Situation

LD1501111690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Hello comrades. I open this program with a story about events which, without exaggeration, can be described as terrible. But they cannot be passed over in silence. Events in Baku began with two Azerbaijanis threatening an Armenian family, and demanding them to leave. The outcome of the conflict was tragic. One of the Azerbaijanis was killed, and the other one was taken to hospital in serious condition. All this was reported at a rally on 13 January at which 130,000 people gathered. The crowds went to the city areas populated mainly with Armenians. Pogroms started. Our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich reports:

[Begin recording] [Lazarevich] For a week now, Colonel (Larit Adagidalov), chief of the (Nasiminiskiy) Rayon internal affairs branch has not left his office. Can you describe the current situation?

[(Adagidalov)] I must report that the (Nasiminiskiy) Rayon branch is situated in a central rayon in the city of Baku, where the bulk of the population are Armenians—about 52,000 people. All this creates certain complexities in ensuring the protection of public order. The number of personnel in the rayon branch has been cut. There are not enough personnel to ensure the protection of public order. In effect, we have no transportation.

[Lazarevich] How many calls did you receive yesterday?

[(Adagidalov)] Yesterday we received over 150 calls, 50 of which were genuine.

[Lazarevich] How many tragic cases did you have? How many people were killed in the rayon.

[(Adagidalov)] Ten Armenians died, and pogroms were perpetrated in approximately in four apartments.

[Lazarevich] How many people did you manage to rescue?

[(Adagidalov)] We rescued 38 people. Moreover, we actually saved them, in a direct sense.

[Lazarevich] I have seen wounded men, who continue to serve. Are there many of them?

[(Adagidalov)] Yes, because of the emergency conditions, all personnel are at work. If the situation continues the way it is now, I do know what will happen. It is impossible to predict the future of Baku city. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Lazarevich] Two people have been brought into the rayon militia branch—they have been rescued from the infuriated crowd. Excuse me, could you tell me what has happened to you?

[Unidentified woman] Since morning they [as heard] were destroying things in the courtyard of our apartment block. Then they started to go around all the apartment blocks in the area, including our home. We have a security door. They could not open it. They started to climb through the kitchen window. After smashing it, they got in. I was stripped naked. I am scratched all over. I stood naked literally in front of a crowd of men.

[Lazarevich] Who saved you?

[Woman] Some young men saved me. They must have been from the people's front. They brought me here. The rioters threw all our possessions out the door and the window. We are left with only a few clothes. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Internal Affairs Ministry Views Baku, Yerevan

LD1501112790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 15 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrades, we have just received information from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The situation is extremely complex; in a number of places it is not under control. Workers of the Internal Affairs bodies and servicemen of the internal troops are taking measures to ensure the maintainance of public order and the safety of individuals of Armenian nationality on the territory of the republic. In Baku about 200 people have been given refuge from possible attempts on their lives. In protecting citizens from attacks by extremists, three militia workers at the Baku train station and eight military servicemen received injuries on 13 January. Two of them have been hospitalized.

On 14 January, mass illegal actions aimed at individuals of Armenian nationality began to be registered once again in the city from 1400 [time zone not given]. The pogroms against Armenians' homes and the murders continued. Another six dead have been discovered, four of them are Armenian and two are still being identified. In 48 hours a total of 34 people, including 2 Azerbaijanis, 24 Armenians, and 8 of unidentified nationality, have received injuries of varying seriousness.

About 660 Armenian inhabitants of Baku, predominantly women and children, have been evacuated by two ferries from Baku across the Caspian Sea to the town of Krasnovodsk.

In the past 24 hours there has been no movement of freight and passenger trains between Azerbaijan and Armenia on the Azerbaijan railway.

Yerevan city: By 1100 [time zone not given] up to 200,000 people had gathered in Theater Square. The situation in the region was discussed. By 1400 the number of those assembled had reached 100,000. [sentence as heard] In the course of the day crowds of citizens were noted outside the buildings of party, soviet, and law enforcement bodies, demanding that previously-confiscated hunting weapons be issued. At 2030 Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, who had arrived in the City of Yerevan, spoke to those assembled outside the building of the Communist Party of Armenia—more than 10,000 people. After his speech the assembled crowd dispersed.

Armenian Party, Government Statement on Situation

NC1501113990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1000 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Statement issued by Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Council of Ministers of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republics; date and place not given]

[TEXT] The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers announce with deep sorrow that during the disorders and massacres which took place in Baku there were human losses amongst the Armenian population. They express their condolences to the families and kin of the victims.

The communists and all the workers of the republic condemn with a shudder the acts of vandalism perpetrated against innocent people. They resolutely demand that the Azerbaijan republic's leadership take the necessary measures to ensure the security of the Armenians in Baku and in the republic as a whole, and that they call the instigators and perpetrators of the bloody and malevolent acts to strict account.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers, expressing the will of the Armenian people, demand that the country's central authorities put an end to the unceasing acts of oppression and the atrocities committed against the Armenian population in Azerbaijan and pass a political judgment on what happened.

[signed] Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Council of Ministers of the republic.

'Barbarous Mob' Continues Actions in Baku

NC1501181190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] In order to verify the [word indistinct] reports being received from Baku, an ARMENPRES correspondent tried to contact the neighboring republic's news agency. But apparently AZERINFORM is not operating.

Then our correspondent Azroyan contacted former Baku resident (Agop Bezirganyan), who had immigrated to Armenia with the first group of refugees and who is currently in Baku to see about transferring his residency, and asked him to report on the situation in the city.

The situation is extremely tense, he said. The barbarous mob is doing exactly what was done in Sumgait 2 years ago. These barbarians (?raid) the Armenians' house [words indistinct]. But if they do not find them, they take revenge houses abandoned our Armenian compatriots who fled, hoping someday to be able to transfer their belongings. They destroy everything they find. They do not even spare other nationalities who have nothing to do with them— basically the Russians.

I fled and was saved (?accidentally). I was given refuge by one of my old friends [words indistinct]. I will not name this person for known reasons.

There are many soldiers in the city, contingents of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but they are not able to control the situation completely. Thousands of Armenians who remained in the city are trying to flee in one way or another from that hell.

'Alarming Reports' Continue From Baku

LD1501175190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] [Presenter] Now, Comrades, let's talk about the problem of our federation. We are receiving some alarming reports these days from Baku. Here is a dispatch from our special correspondents Leonid Lazarevich and Gennadiy Kolenov sent by line from the capital of Azerbaijan:

[1st Correspondent] Judging by our own observations the pogrom of the Armenian apartments has been halted. We say according to our own observations because unfortunately we are not getting full and exhaustive information, the very latest and most up to the minute. Here they are not hurrying to convene press conferences in order to inform the public. According to our evidence more than 30 people have died, in the main Armenians. Among those identified there are also two Azerbaijanis, one Russian and one Jew. Thirty-four people have received injuries of varying degrees of seriousness. Yesterday alone—Sunday—more than 50 apartments were smashed up. One wants very much to hope and to believe that similar things will not be repeated.

[2d Correspondent] On the streets of Baku today we have seen loudspeaker vehicles broadcasting appeals, on behalf of the people's front, for calm to be preserved. Similar appeals are being made to the city's population by many respected people. Considerably more militiamen and soldiers of the internal troops have made their appearance in the city. The soldiers are wearing helmets and flak jackets. But the tension is high. It is being increased by reports from other rayons in the republic. Armed clashes are continuing in the Khanlarskiy Rayon. Captured armored personnel carriers are being used in them. The rayon is virtually blockaded. New cases of weapons being seized have been recorded. In the town of Gendzhe [formerly Korovabad] 80 automatic weapons, 2 machine guns and mortars have been stolen from the military faculty of the agricultural institute. Is someone really going to put them into action? New raids by fighters from Armenia have been noted. Firing upon Azerbaijani villages from helicopters on which the fuselage numbers have been painted over continues. These helicopters are orange in color. Quite honestly I cannot understand how it is possible in our country for combat raids to be carried out by helicopters. Who can have these helicopters? And—what's most surprising—It is still unknown precisely where these helicopters are taking off from and where they are landing.

Networks of trenches have been dug between several Armenian and Azerbaijani villages. Combat detachments have been formed in the villages from among the population—hundreds of them.

[1st Correspondent] I will add that the evacuation of the Armenian population from Baku has begun. More than 600 people have been taken out to other towns on two ferries: In the main they are women, the elderly and children. Their security is being ensured with difficulty. During the mass disorders 616 people have been saved by militiamen and soldiers of the internal troops. But today we observed an alarming symptom: Several times we dialed the number everyone knows—02—and no one

in the militia picked up the phone. We understand that the militiamen are tired and exhausted, but the situation is one of extreme tension and it must not get out of control, in any event.

[Presenter] You must agree, comrades, that one cannot hear about these sad events without pain and worry. The more the situation is aggravated, the more questions arise, and not just about where the helicopters are taking off and landing, but about where the two sides are getting their fuel from, where are they getting their weapons and ammunition from, who is paying for all of this and who specifically is behind it all? And the sooner people get replies to all of these questions, the sooner they will be able to breath in peace, the sooner mothers will be able not to worry about the fate of their children. For no national interests can justify killings, no national feelings can sanctify pogroms and carnage.

Azerbaijan Party Demands 'Urgent' Measures'

LD1501190190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Baku, 15 Jan (AZERINFORM-TASS)—The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined urgent measures to normalize the situation in Baku.

A decision which has been adopted notes that criminal forces, who are leading matters toward the destabilization of the situation in the republic, have openly transferred to the practical implementation of their schemes. Taking advantage of the acute deterioration in the situation in Nagorno-Karaback Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and the regions bordering it, they have inflamed pasions in Baku and incited some people, refugees from Armenia, into unlawful actions.

Tragic events occurred during the disturbances and the excesses which were provoked in Baku on 13 January. People, mainly Armenians, were killed and dozens were injured at the hands of the criminals. Pogroms were committed in dwellings. Persons suspected of committing acts of violence have been detained by the law-enforcement bodies. An investigation is being held.

It was noted that in the complex situation the party city committee and rayon committees delayed alerting the party aktiv and workers' collectives to halting the excesses. Urgent and extraordinary measures and the assistance of units of internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to halt the disturbances were demanded.

The decision notes that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee condemns the criminal actions and acts of violence that have caused human casualties. No attack on honor, dignity, and life can be justified in any way or can be compatible with the morality and humanist traditions of the Azeri people.

The Baku city and rayon party committees have been instructed to implement immediate measures to normalize the situation.

Plenums and meetings of the aktiv and work collectives with large numbers attending have been held in all rayons of Baku, at which the actions of criminal forces have been resolutely condemned. A number of specific measures are being taken to stabilize the situation.

Broad sections of the people of Baku have become involved in protecting law and order. In particular, 900 people are on duty around the clock in Oktyabrskiy. In Nizaminskiy Rayon the whole party aktiv has been involved.

An emergency plenum of the Baku city party committee has been held in which Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Andrey Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, took part.

It was stressed at the plenum that a real threat to democratization and perestroyka has been created as a result of the unlawful actions. The city party organization, the working class, and the intelligentsia resolutely oppose acts of violence, they condemn them and deem it necessary for all measures to be taken for the protection of public order.

Yevgeniy Primakov and Andrey Girenko met with representatives of the National Front of Azerbaijan. During a long discussion attention was drawn to the need to take all measures to normalize the situation and to ensure legality and law and order. It was stressed that democratization in the USSR has nothing in common with the violation of existing laws; on the contrary, it presupposes their strict observance.

Meetings took place between Yevgeniy Primakov, Andrey Girenko, and Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, and representatives of the creative intelligentsia and employees of the mass media and law-enforcement bodies.

The republic's procurators' service and Internal Affairs Ministry are rooting out those guilty of excesses and violence.

Situation 'Complicated', Evacuation Group Forms

LD1501204190 Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Special TASS correspondents report: "Situation in the Capital of Azerbaijan Remains Complicated"; from "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Baku, 15 Jan TASS—Last night in Baku was just as tense as the previous one. The blood of innocent people was spilled again. As the summary of operations

shows, six corpses were found in the city this morning. According to preliminary figures, 34 people have suffered various bodily injuries in the past 48 hours. More than 50 pogroms have been carried out.

During the disorders, staff of the militia and servicemen of the Interior Ministry troops have prevented reprisals against 616 Armenians, 110 people have been sent to relatives in places of safety, and 70 have been given shelter in rayon Internal Affairs Department buildings.

This afternoon, despite outward calm, the city was uneasy. As evening approached, large groups of people again began gathering in various places. This is just how the tragic events of the past 2 days began. But the soldiers are again on duty without weapons.

A difficult situation has come about in the republic's Khanlarskiy rayon. Open armed clashes using automatic weapons are continuing there. Attacks on the villages Azad, Kamo, and Chaykend were carried out on the night of 13-14 January. There are wounded, and shooting at residents from helicopters continues. Hostages have been taken by Armenian fighting troops. Elements on the rampage in the town of Gendzhe seized 80 automatic weapons, 2 machine guns, and a mortar. There are certain details about an officer and three Interior Ministry troops soldiers disappearing without a trace. Their vehicle was found smashed. Alongside was a large pool of blood and empty cartridge cases.

As these lines are being sent, reports are beginning to come in of a worsening situation in other areas of the republic.

Azerbaijan Situation 'Extremely Complex'

PM1501161790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[S. Mostovshchikov report under general headline: "Extreme Deterioration of Situation in Transcaucasus"]

[Text] According to a press release supplied to the editorial office by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Press Bureau, anti-Armenian pogroms and attacks in Baku continued 15 January. According to preliminary data, a total of 33 persons have died as a result of clashes in the last 72 hours. But this figure cannot be treated as final, since inspections have not yet been carried out in all the apartments in Baku where pogromists called.

Some 660 Armenian residents of Azerbaijan's capital were evacuated by two ferries across the Caspian Sea to Krasnovodsk. The evacuees were mainly women and children.

Reports from Azerbaijan's Khanlarskiy and Shaumyanovskiy Rayons give no grounds at all for optimism. Real fighting is under way there, with the opposing sides using modern equipment—helicopters without identification markings and captured armored personnel carriers. During a clash between Azerbaijanis and Armenians in Khanlarskiy Rayon, for example, the extremists had two armored personnel carriers at their disposal.

Anti-Armenian rallies are being held in many of the republic's cities—in Sumgait (20,000 people), and in the cities of Masally (2,500), Akhsu (200), Divichi (600), Agdam (1,000), Belokany (5,000), Zakataly (3,000), Sabirabad (1,000), Pushkino (4,000), Mingechaur (1,000), and Kusary (1,000).

Following a rally in the city of Gyandzha, where about 7,000 persons had gathered, the crowd destroyed the S.M. Kirov Monument. A group of unidentified persons arrived at the local agricultural institute. It is reported that they used force to steal training weapons from the institute, namely 80 automatic rifles, 2 machineguns, an RTK mortar, and 27 bayonets. As for the chief of Gyandzha Station paramilitary security guards, he—evidently without any resistance—handed three Nagant revolvers with 80 rounds of ammunition and two small-caliber rifles to representatives of the People's Front who called on him. Some 25 of this chief's subordinates went out into Khanlarskiy Rayon with their service weapons.

There has been no movement of freight and passenger trains between Azerbaijan and Armenia along the Azerbaijan Railroad recently. According to available data, there are 224 trains on the Azerbaijan Railroad at present. A total of 109 trains are temporarily idle without locomotives.

Highways leading to Nagorno-Karabakh are still blocked. According to the press release, no freight trains are arriving at Stepanakert railroad station.

These are the events of the last 24 hours. Appraising them, USSR MVD spokesmen assert: The situation in Azerbaijan remains extremely complex and, in many places, uncontrollable.

People's Front Holds 'All Authority' in Lenkoran

LD1501212690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 90

[M. Mamedov video report from Azerbaijan; from "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Snow is a rare phenomenon in Lenkoran and the local children were quick to take advantage of this. But even the unusually cold weather for these parts could not cool the passions and emotions that have boiled up for 2 long years in the hearts of the inhabitants of this subtropical region, and, incidentally, throughout the whole of Azerbaijan.

Everything in this southern town looks normal on the surface—the enterprises, academic institutions, transport and shops, apart from those selling wine and spirits, are working. Prices have again risen in the local market.

But one thing is unusual: The work of the party, local soviet and law-enforcement bodies, has come to a halt. The People's Front has taken over all authority in Lenkoran. The action taken by the People's Front has been sharply condemned by the Azerbaijani Council of Ministers.

News agencies have already reported the tragic events which have occurred in Baku and are happening today in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast bordering on the oblast. Believe me, it is very difficult to make out what is going on while the scent is on; what is needed is a sober analysis. Only one thing is clear, everything stems from one thing: The protracted conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. At the same time, it is possible and necessary to state that a share of the blame for the events that have occurred lies with the republican leadership which, by working in the old way, cut itself off from the people with a high barrier of all kinds of promises, statements, and resolutions.

Armenian Leaders Demand End to Violence

LD1501214690 Moscow Televison Service in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast; video report by V. Nazaryan from Yerevan]

[Text] Despite the increasingly alarming reports which are arriving these days from the bordering regions of Nagorno-Karabakh and from Baku, and cities and villages of Azerbaijan where the Armenian population has so far been preserved, the situation in Yerevan, and indeed in the republic as a whole, is, it has to be said, calm, and sternly restrained. Calls not to yield to provocations, and for restraint, were also heard at a meeting of several thousands yesterday, organized by the Armenian nationwide movement.

Yesterday also, late at night, Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee appeared on republican television, and again stressed that the central leadership is deeply concerned about the new escalation of tension in the region and is taking every step to normalize the situation. But I will stress once again that the latest pogroms and carnage in Baku, and the acts of violence and vandalism, today provoke anger and outrage in people throughout the republic.

Today, the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidum and the republican Council of Ministers, expressed profound condolences to the families and relatives of the victims of the pogroms in the city of Baku. Communists and all the working people of the republic, the address says, angrily condemn the acts of vandalism against innocent people and resolutely demand that the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic leadership take the necessary steps to ensure guarantees for the security of individuals of Armenian nationality, and that the instigators and those who carry out bloody crimes are brought rigorously to account.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and the republican Council of Ministers, expressing the will of the Armenian people, demand that the central bodies of the country put an end to the incessant acts of violence and cruelty against the Armenian population on the territory of Azerbaijan, and politically appraised what has been perpetrated. [Video shows Yerevan street scenes and small groupings of people]

Azerbaijani Blockade of Armenia Continuing

NC1601111090 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] The blockade of Armenia by Azerbaijan is in its 5th day. This action is not only an illegal strongarm tactic, but also an attempt at political blackmail. The aim of it is to bring about the economic disintegration of our economy and to undermine the restoration and construction work in the Spitak earthquake zone.

No trains entered through Norashen and Idzhevan stations on 13 and 14 January; 15 trains, with 380 freight cars, arrived via the Transcaucasian railways carrying goods for the national economy. A total of 101 freight cars of cement, 22 carrying prefabricated houses, 20 tankers of gasoline, 2 tankers of diesel fuel, 15 freight cars of cereals, 2 freight cars of groat products, 4 of poultry meat, 1 freight car of sugar and (?other items) have arrived at their destination. The directors of the ministries, supervisory departments, executive committees of the city and rayon soviets, enterprises—including the enterprises under the union jurisdictions—and organizations must urgently take all necessary measures to ensure that freight is speedily unloaded and to find practical solutions for the related problems, such as the failure to take personal responsibility for the timely unloading of the freight. [Passage indistinct]

Armenian Leader Details Effects of Blockade

LD1501194190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] (Ingrit Hutterer) has spoken on the telephone with (Samvel Gevortyam), member of the leadership of the Armenian National Movement. She called him up in Yerevan, and the Armenian leader got the telephone call right in the middle of the half- million strong mass rally.

[Begin recording] [(Gevortyam) in Armenian with superimposed Hungarian translation] The Azerbaijanis are surrounding more and more areas, villages. The Soviet military which is stationed there appealed over the radio for the central government to send out troops to assist in Getashen, thus there are too few of them to resist. However, from any point in the Caucasus, the military could get there at the most in ½ hour. The delay is explained, for

example, by saying that yesterday two-three helicopters tried to land, but the Azerbaijanis fired on them. One of the helicopters was damaged, the other one turned back. After this, three helicopters were able to land.

Azerbaijani women and children surrounded an entire barracks, and as a result, the soldiers are unable to set off to provide help. This is the explanation, although it is clear, for us, that the airborne units are able to land in conditions which are worse than these, if they want to.

The situation in Karabakh is also very serious. We received a report by radio that the Azerbaijanis have declared an open war against the entire Armenian population in Karabakh, and they have announced that not only do they want to cleanse Karabakh, but all of Azerbaijan, what is more, the entire Caucasus, of the Armenians. Statements such as these are being transmitted on Azerbaijani state television, and there are appeals for this at the mass rallies.

The Azerbaijanis are heavily concentrating their troops around and within Karabakh. An attack of great force is expected at any minute. Therefore, Azerbaijan has repeatedly blockaded Armenia. The energy supply is very bad. It may even cease shortly. We receive neither fuel nor foodstuffs. Therefore, the economy which is just recovering is again being forced to its knees. There was no service today at the Yerevan resturants, because there was not even any bread. [end recording]

Moscow Armenians Urge Troop Dispatch to Azerbaijan

LD1501175790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1724 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—At a press conference at the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] permanent mission within the USSR Council of Ministers which was held today, representatives of Moscow's Armenian population called upon the USSR leadership to immediately send to the territory of Azerbaijan "appropriate contingents of troops to ensure the safety" of the Armenian population in the Azerbaijani SSR.

A statement read out at the press conference says, among other things, that "dozens of killed and hundreds of seriously wounded" people have been counted in Baku and in other towns and populated areas of Azerbaijan over the past few days. The representatives of the Armenian public demanded that "the pograms and violence be brought to a halt in accordance with the rules of martial law".

Baku Party Committee Calls for 'Peaceful' Struggle

NC1501192790 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Appeal by Baku City Party Committee; date not given]

[Text] Esteemed residents of Baku; brothers and sisters. Our work is right because our people are protecting their own lands, [word indistinct] and national pride. Victory will be ours.

However, we must not allow the name of our people and city to be tarnished by a dark stain. Massacre is not our way. We must continue our struggle through peaceful ways. The close unity of the people of Azerbaijan must be our most effective weapon during the current days of tension. We call on you to act with unity, [word indistinct], and common sense. Do not allow yourselves to act without thinking. Wisdom, [word indistinct], and united will must be our slogan. Through this, we will achieve all of our objectives. Maintain peace and security. Do not allow undesirable activities in our city. Safeguard the noble name and unity of our people. It is the duty of each and every one of us to (?promote) the clean name of Baku.

NKAO Council Appeals for Cooperation With Army

NC1501204390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Appeal by National Council of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO—to the people; date not given]

[Text] Compatriots, the unprecedented massacres and the murder of Armenians taking place in Azerbaijan at present are the direct continuation of Sumgait and a result of the lack of punishment of those who organized this monstrous crime. The overt calls by the leaderships of the Azerbaijan republic and of the People's Front against the Armenian population of Baku, Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO], Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, and Getashen Subrayon, and the armed actions force us to be ready to repel any incursion. At this crucial moment in the fate of the Armenian people we call on you for unity and courage.

The utmost mobilization of forces and means is needed in all instances for the protection of the population. Under the prevailing extraordinary situation, it is impermissible to engage in unconsidered actions and disseminate alarming news. It is necessary to create the conducive conditions for the army units who are engaged in preventing armed conflicts, conflicts which have resulted in a great number of victims, including servicemen. Our people have always stood up with honor and dignity against every attempt to desecrate our land, and it will be so this time as well. [Signed] The National Council of NKAO

NKAO Council Asks for Condemnation of Azeris

NC1501203290 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Statement by Presidium of the National Council of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—NKAO: "Sumgait Is Continuing"; date not given]

[Text] Dozens of Armenians are being sacrificed as a result of savage massacres and barbaric actions in Baku. The unconcealed actions of the so-called Azerbaijan People's Front's storm troops which execute the will of the Azerbaijanian leadership, once more confirmed the infamous anti-Armenian policy of genocide it has pursued for decades.

The NKAO National Council, on behalf of the Armenian population of the oblast, expresses deep condolences with a bereaved heart to the families and kin of the innocent victims. Sharing the inconsolable pain of the entire Armenian people, we call on the Soviet and international public to condemn resolutely the medieval brutality of the Azeris who have again committed monstrous crimes against mankind and humanity.

Further on 'Tense' Situation in NKAO

LD1501211890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2013 GMT 15 Jan 90

["Nagorno-Karabakh: Situation Remains Tense"—TASS headline]

[Text] Stepanakert, 15 Jan (TASS)—Last night in Kirkidzhan, a suburb of Stepanakert and administrative center of the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO), an exchange of fire took place between Armenians and Azerbaijanis; one Armenian home and three Azerbaijani homes burned down. Firemen who arrived at the scene of the incident were subjected to firing and were forced to return. No information has been received about casualties resulting from the exchange of fire.

The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of Azerbaijan in the Transcaucasus, populated by Azerbaijanis and Armenians, today looks like a zone at the front. Trenches are being dug in villages; many roads are being blocked and "self-defense posts" have been reinforced. For the 5th day, freight-carrying trains have not been coming into the oblast: the blockading of the oblast has resumed, while stocks of foodstuffs and fuel are limited.

Blood is continuing to be spilled in Shaumyanovskiy and Khanlarskiy Rayons of Azerbaijan, neighboring the Autonomous Oblast. The numbers of subunits of Interior Ministry troops have been increased in these rayons.

Large forces of armed terrorists are drawing towards the Azerbaijani village of Adzhikend. The situation is made complex by the fact that they have combat equipment, machine guns, and sub- machine guns, and grenades. Volley-firing antiaircraft weapons have been brought to the place of combat. These weapons are being used to fire at military helicopters.

Armenian fighters [boyevik] are also arriving to defend Armenian villages in these two rayons. They are also armed with automatic weapons. hl

Moscow TV Reports Nagorno-Karabakh Clashes

LD1501185290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Aleksandr Barkhatov video report from Nagorno-Karabakh; Barkhatov identified by caption; from "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Video shows a line of armed men trudging across a snow covered field, correspondent Aleksandr Barkhatov standing on snowy high ground above a settlement in a valley below which forms the background]

[Barkhatov] There is shooting here every night. And if one speaks of the fragile equilibrium that it has been possible to maintain with the aid of the military and with the aid of the army, then today it is perhaps no longer the troubles, the blockade troubles of isolated Azerbaijani or Armenian villages on the scales—there is already blood on the scales, flowing here, drop by drop literally every day. [video shows aerial photograph of snowy hilly area]

I would like to start with the saving words for the present: indeed, fortunately for the present, fighting by day, using automatic weapons and grenades is not such a common phenomenon, although even this has been increased here. [video shows troops in an aircraft, then shot of a helicopter, the soldiers leaving an aircraft and running into a snowy field where civilians are standing around.]

These lads have just received a report that in the Shaumyanskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan bordering on the Nagorno Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], there has been a clash between the inhabitants of two villages—the Azerbaijani (Tatan)—and the Armenian Manashid. From both sides, about 300 people are taking part in the crossfire. A group of Interior Ministry troops failed to put an end to the conflict by peaceful means. Firing on the soldiers commenced from the side of the village of Tatan. The commander, Captain Spiridonov, was seriously wounded.

[Senior Lieutenant Mestyukov, identified by caption] Well, a group of Azerbaijanis, people who in the main had arrived here, we later found out from their passports that they had arrived here from Kirovobad—well, the lads from the Azerbaijani village...well, the first...of the Armenian village...the first task, as far as I recall, was to set fire to this livestock unit. This livestock breeding unit. Well, the Armenians of course were roused and resisted to an certain extent using firearms, hunting weapons, including rifled weapons and the Kalashnikov automatic [video shows troops seated on an armoured personnel carrier].

[Barkhatov] How long did the battle last?

[Mestyukov] In the region of 1 ½ hours. Well, on the side of the Armenian population, three people were wounded, for the most part, all of them lightly.

[Barkhatov] And the Azerbaijani side?

[Mestyukov] Well, as a result of the battle, on the Azerbaijani side four were killed. Two were wounded and our soldiers are giving them first aid. And with the help of the Armenian population, Armenians (?have taken them) to the city hospital to provide assistance.

[Unidentified woman] Yes, we are indeed the people of the Manashid. We have been travelling for more than an hour already from here. People are afraid to live here.

[Unidentified man] All in all, it is impossible to live in this rayon. Enough is surely enough. How long will we go on living like this. And where is our Central Committee? Where is the government? It is good and we are thankful that the soldiers came and helped us. [video shows this man holding a rifle, others holding pitchforks]

[Barkhatov] People's irregulars, fighters—they can be called various things. It goes without saying that it is naive to hope that some force or other will force these people to give up their weapons when passions and the thirst for vengeance have already overpowered reason. And the law here is helpless. There is practically no one to effect justice and to objectively conduct an investigation. [video shows more shots of armed civilians]

Yes, in this instance, they were defended, but how many examples are there when in other villages everything was the other way round, and when perhaps others might lie in a field like this? [video shows shots of a livestock unit, men pitching hay, what appears to be blood stains in the snow]

Probably, probably it is impossible to appeal for nonfreedom, but the time for talks has been missed by both sides, missed at all levels. And here in Karabakh, one hears more and more frequently from both the Armenians and from the Azerbaijanis: Help us, Army. Introduce rigorous orders. So far, other routes have led, and in my view will lead nowwhere. And even in these two neighboring villages, hostages have been taken on both sides—men and women. It is not proving possible to exchange them. People are putting their trust in force, in the Army, otherwise, otherwise, help will come illegally from afar. People will arrive with weapons acquired somewhere or other. Those who will arrive to help, will have a false nationality in their passports. What else can be done in order to survive. They say you have to be stronger than your neighbor, and this is an endless bloody circle. [video shows armored personnel carriers, troops, civilians, then returns to studio] [end recording]

[Announcer] It is terrible to watch these scenes when only an armed person, only a person with weapons feels secure. Now that the conflict has gone so far, there is no time for explanations as to who is guilty of the new exacerbation of the situation, and who started first. The main thing is to immediately end the bloodshed. By all accounts it is only possible to do this in the common interest with the aid of rigorous measures by the state.

Supreme Soviet Decrees 'State of Emergency'

PM1601084190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

["On Declaration of State of Emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Certain Other Areas"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Moscow, Kremlin, 15 January 1990—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that despite the measures that have been adopted, the situation in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist [SSR] is not only not returning to normal, but continues to worsen. Activities of various nationalist and separatist associations which are carrying on provocative work, involving ever broader strata of the population in the conflict, have been considerably stepped up. Extremist groupings organize mass disturbances, provoke strikes, fan national strife and enmity. They carry out impudent criminal actions, mine bridges and roads, fire on populated areas, and seize hostages. In peacetime the number of refugees, deprived of the normal conditions of life and work is growing. There are casualties. This gives rise to alarm and profound indignation of the Soviet people, of all our people.

"In this complex situation, the republican bodies of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the leadership of the republics, failed to act with sufficient firmness and consistency. They also failed to use all opportunities to put a halt to the situation that has emerged and, in a number of cases, took their lead from extremist and nationalist elements. As a result of this, fulfilment of the USSR Supreme Soviet decisions is being blocked and tension in relations between nationalities continues to escalate.

This has been furthered by acts on Nagorno-Karabakh adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR which are not in keeping with the USSR Constitution.

At the present time the situation in the towns of Baku, Gyandzhe, and a number of other population centers has become particularly aggravated. Things are going so far as killings, robberies, attempts at the armed overthrow of Soviet power and to change forcibly the state and social system which is fixed by the USSR Constitution.

In connection with what has been set out and taking into consideration the appeal of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, being guided by point 14 of Article 119 of the USSR Constitution the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium **resolves:**

1. To declare a state of emergency upon the territory of the NKAO, the rayons of the Azerbaijanian SSR adjacent to it, the Gorisskiy Rayon of the Armenian SSR and also in the border zone along the USSR state border upon the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR.

2. To grant the organs of state power and government and other authorized state bodies and officials in the

places named in Article One of the present decree the right to use the following measures:

To prohibit the holding of gatherings, meetings, street processions, demonstrations, and also of theatrical, entertainment, sporting and other mass functions and to control the mass information media;

To bring to a halt activity of organizations and spontaneous citizens' associations which contravenes the law or to dissolve them;

To recruit citizens to work at enterprises, establishments and organizations and also to eliminate the consequences of the extraordinary circumstances;

To prohibit strikes;

To introduce a curfew;

To restrict the entry and exit of citizens, temporarily to evacuate citizens from rayons which are dangerous for residence, making other residential premises available to them; to oblige citizens who are not residents of a particular locality to leave it;

To restrict the movement of transportation facilities, to control and examine them;

To introduce the checking of documents and where necessary, when there is sufficient information about the possession of weapons by citizens and when there is a refusal to produce them voluntarily, to carry our personal examinations of citizens and examinations of things;

To carry out temporary confiscation from citizens and, if necessary, from enterprises, establishments and organizations of firearms and other weapons, ammunition, explosive substances and materials, aggressive chemical and poisonous substances;

To restrict or ban the use of duplicating equipment and also of radio and television broadcasting equipment and to introduce special rules for the use of communications facilities.

3. During curfew, citizens are not allowed to be on the streets or in other public places without specially issued passes and proof of identity documents, or to be outside where they live without proof of identity documents.

4. To eliminate the consequences of the extraordinary circumstances, to protect citizens' rights, to protect public order and security and facilities essential for maintaining vital supplies for the population, the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are being brought into action in accordance with the law. Military units of the Soviet Army, Navy, and the KGB of the USSR are also being brought into action to protect the citizens and facilities essential for maintaining vital supplies for the population. The internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the military units of the Soviet Army, Navy, and the KGB of the USSR operate on the basis of the USSR Constitution, being guided by the laws, acts, and this decree.

5. Persons provoking public disturbances, spreading provocative rumors, or actively impeding citizens and officials from carrying out their legitimate rights and duties, or violating the regime of the state of emergency, can be administratively detained for a period of up to 30 days. These persons can be held administratively or criminally liable in accordance with the law.

6. To ensure that transportation works without any interruptions, railways and other communications facilities are to be protected with the use of the forces of the Internal Troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, of the Soviet Army and of the KGB of the USSR.

7. The Azerbaijani SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is to be instructed to take all necessary measures, including the introduction of a curfew in the towns of Baku, Gyandzhe and other populated settlements to ensure the safety of the population, enterprises, establishments and organisations and to bring to justice those persons who are guilty of violating the demands of the laws in force, including the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 23 November 1988 Decree "Concerning Urgent Measures To Establish Public Order in the Azerbaijani SSR and Armenian SSR" (USSR Supreme Soviet Bulletin 1988, Number 47, page 712).

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is required to undertake the most resolute steps to put an end to inflammatory actions from that republic's territory which are fanning up interethnic passions and ethnic hostility between the two peoples.

It is essential that the Supreme Soviet Presidiums and the Councils of Ministers of the Azerbaijani SSR and the Armenian SSR examine immediately during their sessions practical measures to implement this decree and to overcome the situation which has arisen.

Law enforcement bodies and other USSR state bodies are to render the republican bodies necessary assistance in carrying out the measures indicated.

8. Articles 1-7 of this decree come into force from 2300 local time on 15 January 1990 and are in effect until the state of emergency is annulled.

9. The USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to continue and complete in the near future talks on arrangements at the state border and on issues of USSR-Iranian relations connected with this, and is also to inform the relevant neighboring states and international organizations about this decree.

10. The expedited examination in the USSR Supreme Soviet of the draft law elaborated by the USSR Council of Ministers on the instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the legal provisions of a state of emergency is to be recognized as a necessity.

11. The draft law on increased liability for encroachments on national equality of rights of citizens and for violent offences against the integrity of the territory of the USSR, prepared by a group of academics and specialists, is to be submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, with the idea of submitting this bill for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet in the very near future."

The decree was signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Participants Listed in NKAO Presidium Session

LD1501193590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jan (TASS)—The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium met today in the Kremlin chaired by M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

At the sitting, the issue of the declaration of a state of emergency in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Province [NKAO] and some other rayons was considered. V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR General procurator; V.A. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR State Security Committee; E.M. Kafarova, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet; and G.M. Voskanyan, chairman of the presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet gave reports. R.A Bazarova, V.S. Shevchenko, M.R. Sagdiyev, V.E. Kurtashin, V.G. Kucherenko, Yu. I. Borodin, G.S. Tarazevich, Ch. Aytmatov, A.I. Lukyanov and N.I. Ryzhkov took part in the discussion.

According to the results of the discussion, the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decree "On the Declaration of a State of Emergency in NKAO and some other rayons".

Turkey, Iran Envoys Told of Azerbaijan Decree

PM1601104390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Ambassadors Received"]

[Text] On 15 January Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received Naser Heirani-Nobari, Iranian ambassador to the USSR, and Turkish Ambassador V. Vural and informed them of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree instituting a state of emergency in certain areas of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, including along the USSR state border with these countries.

Azerbaijan Party Bureau Decision, Situation

NC1601092390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0700 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined the urgent measures which are required to normalize the situation in Baku. The decision that was adopted noted that criminal forces trying to disrupt stability in the republic have openly begun to put their malicious intentions into effect. Benefitting from the sharp worsening of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, they inflamed passions in Baku and encouraged a number of people and refugees from Armenia to resort to lawless activities.

Tragic incidents occurred during the disturbances and uncontrolled actions in Baku on 13 January. People, most of them Armenians, were killed by the criminals. Dozens of people were wounded and houses were ransacked. The law enforcement organs have arrested individuals suspected of committing violent acts. An investigation is under way.

The city and district party committees were late in mobilizing the party aktivs and work collectives to obstruct the uncontrolled activities during the complex situation. It was necessary to implement urgent and extraordinary measures and call in USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs military units to obstruct these uncontrolled activities.

The decision also noted that the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee categorically condemned the criminal activities and violent behavior which resulted in deaths. Deliberate attacks on [word indistinct], efficiency, and life cannot be justified in any way. They are incompatible with the moral and humanitarian traditions of the Azerbaijani people.

The Baku city and district party committees were instructed to take urgent measures to normalize the situation. Plenums and meetings of workers are being held in all districts of the capital. The activities of the criminal forces are categorically condemned at these gatherings.

A number of concrete measures are being taken to stabilize the situation.

Large sectors of the population of Baku have rushed to safeguard public order. For example, 900 men are on duty in the Oktyabr district round the clock. All party aktivs have been mobilized in Nizami district.

The Baku City Party Committee held an extraordinary plenum. Primakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the plenum.

The [word indistinct] party organization, [word indistinct], and intellectuals resolutely condemned the violent actions and noted the need for taking all measures necessary to maintain public order.

Primakov and Girenko held talks with the representatives of the Azerbaijan Popular Front. During the lengthy meeting, attention was drawn to the need to take all measures necessary to normalize the situation and establish law and order. It was noted that violations of the law are incompatible with the democratization course in the Soviet Union; on the contrary, democratization calls for a serious adherence to law.

Primakov, Girenko, and Vezirov also held talks with representatives of intellectuals, the mass media, and law enforcement organs. The republic's Procuracy and Internal Affairs Ministry are exposing those who have been involved in uncontrolled activities.

Slyunkov Briefs Armenian Aktiv on Events

PM1601111990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 90 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Sarkisyan report: "Alarm and Pain"]

[Text] Yerevan—Alarm, pain, and condemnation—those are the synonyms for the feelings currently being experienced by people in Armenia. They were caused by the reports from Baku and from Azerbaijan's Shaumyanovskiy and Khanlarskiy Rayons. People are enraged about the guerrillas' criminal actions.

In the afternoon a meeting of the republic's party and economic aktiv was held with the participation of N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who had arrived in the republic in connection with the deterioration of the situation in the region. An acute, principled, and direct discussion was held.

The leaders of the republic's enterprises who spoke stated that an extremely serious situation has emerged in Armenia as a result of the blockade that has started. Heat and electric power stations, state regional electric power stations, and other power stations have only a few days' fuel supplies left. There is no gasoline. There have been disruptions to food supplies.

In his speech N.N. Slyunkov briefed the participants in the party and economic aktiv meeting on the events that had taken place, sharply condemned the actions of Azerbaijani extremists and guerrillas, assessed them as criminal and vandal acts, and on behalf of the leadership of the party and the country expressed his condolences with the families and relatives bereaved during the Baku pogroms. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government are taking and will continue to take all necessary measures to prevent any further bloodshed, to safeguard the security of the population on Azerbaijani territory, and to establish peace and tranquillity in the region.

Gorbachev Meeting With Lithuanian Intelligentsia

Moscow TV 1525 GMT

LD1201154190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1525 GMT on 12 January begins a recorded account with video of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the Lithuanian intelligentsia on 11 January.

The recording opens with shots of the platform and speakers addressing the meeting. Gorbachev is among the leaders seated on the platform.

At 1525 GMT, video shows Mikhail Gorbachev, Raisa Gorbacheva, and others taking places in the hall. On the platform are Maslyukov, Medvedev, Gorbachev, Brazauskas and three others, in addition to Pozela, president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, who starts speaking in Lithuanian, without any translation. He goes over into Russian, explaining that he was introducing Gorbachev to the audience. Gorbachev observes that there are are not many people present. Pozela says quality is more important than quantity. Pozela makes remarks on the procedure for the meeting, suggesting 3-4 minutes per speaker and inviting the audience to submit questions to their chair. At 1529 GMT, Pozela begins an introductory speech, talking about the forces unleashed by perestroyka. The Lithuanian intelligentsia and people as a whole favor national sovereignty, which does not mean self-isolation, but self-determination. Strong, centralized rule deforms the repubics. Major changes are going on in the Lithuanian Communist Party. Independence for the Lithuanian Communist Party does not mean isolation from communists in the union, but cooperation with them.

At 1537 GMT, Gorbachev suggests that others be given a chance to speak. The floor is offered first to Matulevicius, general director of Neringa production association, who says he does not understand why Gorbachev backs self-determination, but not seccession. One should not fear the results of democratization, he says. There is no way back, for that way lies chaos. The Lithuanian people want no compromises over economic independence, he says. We have to bear in mind that times we are living in and build relations on a basis of mutual understanding, without decisions being taken by others.

At 1543 GMT, Gorbachev asks Matulevicius to explain where their views differ. Matulevicius complains that in the past, party membership meant learning how to behave, according to a strict hierarchy. Gorbachev asks whether it is really necessary to leave the CPSU to get proper democracy. Matulevicius cites remarks by Ligachev that Lithuanian communists' affairs are those

of the whole party and, says that the Lithuanian Communist Party wants new forms of cooperation, not to sever realtions.

At 1547 GMT, the floor is offered to Academy Vice-President Zakauskas, who says that over 80 percent of people in Lithuania want an independent country and party. This state of affairs is caused by deteriorating economic conditions in Lithuania and the USSR as a whole. The rate of inflation in Lithuania rose to over 20 percent last year, because of the export of goods by Poles, he says. This led people ito ask what point there was in being in the USSR, if the USSR could not protect Lithuania from this. The law on Baltic economic independence has not yet been backed up by any decisions from the USSR Council of Ministers; rather, restrictions are being imposed, as a kind of economic blockade against Lithuania. Most communists back the people's aspirations, hence the declaration by the Lithuanian Communist Party congress. Gorbachev, who introduced consensus into Soviet politics, should promote a consensus regarding Lithuania, says Zukauskas.

At 1554 GMT, Gorbachev asks whether Zukauskas means that secession from the USSR is really necessary to improve the econmic situation, with departure from the CPSU as a step towards that. Zukauskas and voices from the floor reply in the affirmative: Lithuanian Communist Party congress delegates were reflecting public opinion when they voted for party independence. Economic independence has to be accompanied by political independence; both Lithuania and the Union will benefit.

Moscow TV 1558 GMT

LD1201164490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian continues its recorded video account of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the Lithuanian intelligentsia on 11 January.

At 1558 GMT, the floor offered to Vysotskiy, a rayon party secretary, who talks about his impressions of the Lithuanian Communist Party congress. There is nothing communist about the Lithuanian Communist Party's new statute, he says, as a supporter of the CPSU platform. He raises the issue of minority rights, for 80 percent of people in his rayon are Poles. His organization does not have a newspaper of its own—what pluralism of views is that, he asks.

At 1602 GMT, the floor given to (?Grigas), who welcomes Yakovlev's rejection of a black-and-white view of the world, but says that people are now trying to force Lithuanians into an "either...or..." situation. The notion of unity should not be equated with monotonous uniformity, he says. There can be diversity with attachment to common values. Lithuanians have had a "little brother" complex under Soviet rule: this issue must be tackled, says the speaker.

At 1607 GMT, the floor offered to the chairwoman of Lithuanian Women's Council, who speaks of great hopes vested in Gorbachev and asks to be allowed to read out her speech. She raises problems with the army, such as bullying and sadism: our chidren's lives in the Soviet Army have often become unbearable, she says. Some deaths have been attributed to heart trouble, when there are clear signs of physical violence. A commission set up by the Lithuanian Women's Council has received many complaints about the issue. A petition calling for perestroyka in the Army has been ignored. Yazov promised Brazauskas that more men would be allowed to serve closer to home, but that was a deception, says the speaker. Nonregulation relations should be examined by open civilian courts, not military tribunals. Yazov should come to Lithuania to solve the issue of letting Lithuanians serve in Lithuania. The state of affairs in the army is a brake on perestroyka, she says. The Lithuanian Women's Council chairwoman goes on to the subject of children's prisons, which, she says, are no proper preparation for life. She appeals to Gorbachev to intervene personally over the issues which she has raised.

At 1618 GMT, the floor given to chairman of Board of Lithuanian Writers' Union (?Martinkas), who talks about the "metaphysical, but fairly concrete" concept of "My Lithuania", the historical and cultural roots of Lithuanian identity. Free speech is, fo far, the only major achievement of perestroyka, but it is an important one, he says. An independent, sovereign state is necessary. He cites Velikhov's surprise at the religious element in Lithuanians' attachment to their country. The national state as a form should not be buried as long as people need it. The CPSU-Lithuanian Communist Party conflict is a feature of a political system which is disappearing. The Lithuanian Communist Party is right in supporting ideas which inspire all Lithuanian people, he says.

Moscow TV 1628 GMT

LD1201174290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1628 GMT on 12 January continues its video account of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the Lithuanian intelligentsia on 11 January.

The next speaker is (Kasatkina) of the Russian Cultural Center, who says she speaks for many Russians who consider themselves citizens of Lithuania. Lithuanians and Russians feel that they are occupied at present. She recalls the '20s and '30s, when Russian societies thrived in independent Lithuania. Her center tries to bring people together on the basis of cultural values and rejects Pamyat-style chauvinism. People inLithuania have the right to decide their own future.

At 1633, Pozela urges speakers to keep to the agreed time limit and offers the floor to Vladimirov, a worker at a construction machinery works in Vilnius, who says that the Lithuanian Communist Party congress did not have the right to force members into another party. He praises

Gorbachev's report to the CPSU Central Committee plenum. Perestroyka needs the common efforts of all the USSR's communists. He regrets that nobody knows what is to become of CPSU members in Lithuania.

At 1637, the floor given to (Povilionas), member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, who regrets attempts to reduce perestroyka to just economic matters. Older people know that what happened in 1940 was a tragic mistake, although there have been improvements since. Brazauskas has played a large part in the latter. He outlines the Lithuanian Communist Party's aims, regretting that people of Lithuania are forced to justify their desire for independence like students before a teacher. Lithuania is undertaking the same process as Poland and other East European countries. The Lithuanian Communist Party is a real force and wants to be treated as such.

At 1644, the floor is offered to Antonov, member of the Bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party on a CPSU platform, who waives his right in favor of a colleague. While that man is preparing the floor goes to (Gritsas) of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, who demands Lithuania's right to own its own land, without which it cannot be a proper state. The component republics in the USSR entered under varying conditions, and this should be reflected in their treatment. Ordinary communists must be given the right to restructure the CPSU. Lithuania wants good relations with the USSR. Gorbachev should respect the aspirations of the Lithuanian people.

At 1650, the floor is taken by (Jonene) of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform, who regrets the lack of pluralism of views in Lithuania. She reads out an appeal to Gorbachev asking whether he plans to protect those who fought for Soviet power in Lithuania.

At 1654, the floor is given to (Chistyakov) of the Vilnius city party committee, who calls for the next CPSU congress to be brought forward and for good will to be shown to the Lithuanian Communist Party, which would freeze its decision to leave the CPSU in the meantime. He accuses Lithuania of heading for an independent, ethnically pure state, without proper study of the issue. Consideration must be given to people who will not feel at home in an independent Lithuania.

At 1659, the floor is taken by (Nekroshin), chairman of the publishing affairs committee, who cites opinions expressed to him by ordinary communists, and says that the problems of such a diverse country as the USSR cannot be solved by a single strategy. The dogmatism which still exists in the CPSU is a dangerous thing.

At 1705, Pozela offers the floor to Gorbachev, to applause. Gorbachev starts speaking, promising to speak frankly. Some are speculating on ordinary people's natural feelings for their country, but problems cannot be solved on that basis. Policy has to take account of realities; schemes should not be built on people's natural desires alone.

Moscow TV 1710 GMT

LD1201180590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1710 GMT on 12 January continues its video acount of M.S.Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the Lithuanian intelligentsia on 11 January.

Gorbachev continues by setting out his credo: The country has to be renewed in all parts and structures, including the Army. Old approaches and the Stalinist concept of the totalitarian state cannot solve anything. One has to learn from history without dwelling in the past. Society's potential has to be tapped through all-pervasive democracy and glasnost.

The party realized that radical economic perestroyka was necessary, but nothing could be done without clearing away the command and administrative system. Society has got moving on the basis of the need for thorough-going change, and this could not but include the nationalities issue. The old constitutional provision that nationalities have the right to self-determination must be maintained, Gorbachev continues. We are all fighting against the errors of the past and for dynamic development, but some are fighting against perestroyka—that is dangerous.

The CPSU plenum on nationalities was postponed three times in an effort to understand fully what was happening. The federation is essential; it does not involve any imperialist or neo-imperialist thinking. The unitary state of the past left its mark on the whole Soviet Union, but as a result realities developed which cannot be ignored.

The Union is not something mythical, but takes the form of factories and other economic installations set up in, among others, the Baltic republics. There are 60 million people living outside their own national territories—another present-day reality. Conversations with Oleynik on the language issue have shown how important that issue is.

Coproduction among the republics of the USSR is greater than that within the EEC, an illustration of how everything is interrelated, Gorbachev goes on.

There has to be cooperation and a joining of forces in culture and science as well. Realities have to be borne in mind: transport, communications, foreign and internal trade, and other aspects of life. One option is to leave the USSR and tear up these ties. The other is political sovereignty, economic independence, and the like through sovereign states united in a federation—although we don't yet have experience of a proper federation.

The draft law on the mechanism for secession from the USSR will be put to nationwide discussion and a referendum, because there has to be self-determiantion. Many issues have to be considered in the secession process. There has to be such a mechanism available, so

that people can make an informed choice, rather than be subject to speculation on their natural desires.

A state cannot be governed properly if the centre interferes in all a republic's affairs. The people must decide, with all the facts before them. The second of the two options is the better.

Sajudis politicians who put their own ambitions above all else are wrong.

Calls of "That is a provocation!" are heard from the floor.

Gorbachev continues" The interests of all elements of society have to be harmonized, as in a federation. He recalls a conversation with Mrs Thatcher, in which he cited Palmerston's remark that Britian has eternal interests, not eternal friends or enemies. The USSR, like all countries, also has interests. A balance of interests has to be found, in Lithuania and in the whole USSR.

Was the indpendent Lithuania of the interwar years such a paradise, if so many people emigrated from it? Lithuania today has a great potential, but only in interaction with others. The Lithuanian people have to feel that they are masters of their own land, but they will not be free if their fredom is built on inequality for others.

Moscow TV 1749 GMT

LD1201181390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1749 GMT on 12 January continues its video account of M. S. Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of the Lithuanian intelligentsia on 11 January.

Continuing his remarks, Gorbachev says: We have embarked on the path of reviving the federation, which naturally entails centrifugal forces, but this needs a single party as a unifying force, in the interests of the whole union. Republican parties have to have autonomy in their internal affairs, which must be reflected in the CPSU's new statute, which is being prepared.

There is much in common between the CPSU and the Lithuanian Communist Party programs, so independence within the CPSU is the best way. Answers have to be found through cooperation.

Gorbachev says thank you for the meeting, hoping that each side has had a good chance to listen to the other. He finishes speaking and takes his seat at 1756.

An unidentified man, speaking from the floor, then asks a question about comparisons between the union being created in Western Europe and the domestic union of which Gorbachev speaks. Gorbachev says that the domestic union must change, but there has to be cooperation; ways must be sought together. There is no alternative. Gorbachev thanks Pozela, who reciprocates and declares the meeting closed.

At 1759 the video account of the meeting ends.

Further Moscow TV Account

LD1501204590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1525 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Video account of meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and representatives of the Lithuanian intelligentsia in Vilnius on 11 January—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted: Lithuanian Academy of Sciences President Pozhela opens the meeting, speaking in Lithuanian] [Pozhela, in Russian] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I have just introduced you and your esteemed colleagues to our audience. Permit me to introduce those who have gathered in this hall to you. Representatives of creative intelligentsia have gathered here...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Our arrangement was to meet in a narrow circle. Now I see this is some narrow circle. [laughter] I thought we would meet somewhere at a roundtable.

[Pozhela] It may not be very narrow but it is of a high quality. [indistinct remarks from hall]

We have an even larger hall. Well, here are representatives of the creative intelligentsia, and also creative workers from the party and local soviets, for such a discussion which touches, indeed, upon general...[interrupted by general laughter in the audience]

[Gorbachev] It is interesting, some people have learned for the first time that they belong to the creative section of the party and of local soviets!

[Pozhela] So perhaps we should agree right away on the standing orders. Well, we will not set any specific time limits for the rapporteurs, but those who wish to speak should, perhaps, send notes to the presidium; and they will be allowed to speak for, I think, 3 or 4 minutes, so that we can fit it all into 2 hours, at most, without going on for too long. What do you think, Mikhail Sergeyevich? If this is acceptable, then we will settle for that. Questions to Mikhail Sergeyevich please, sent in writing but, of course, questions from the floor are allowed, too.

And now please permit me to make an introductory speech. Perestroyka and the process of democratization of the country's politial and economic life that you have started have stirred up political life not only in our country but in many countries in Europe and in the world. This process of liberating man and revealing his initiative through ending his alienation from the means of production and the results of his labor, alienation from political decisions and from participation in governing the country, has stimulated a great upsurge of liberated political creative activity. The masses that for many decades were extras in a performance about their own destiny have moved to the foreground of political life, and, first of all, these are the nation's intellectual forces.

In our republic, the liberation of man's individuality has merged into one with the process of creating a sovereign Lithuanian state. We cannot imagine solving our national question other than through national liberation and the restoration of the republic's statehood. The creative intelligentsia that has gathered here is unanimous in this respect and it is united in this view with the Lithuanian people. The sovereignty toward which we are advancing in our...[changes thought] the banner of sovereignty which we have raised high enough is not aimed at self-insulation, but is aimed at the right to solve independently the issues of life and policy in one's own republic. And for the first time, it seems, the idea of social liberation has merged with the idea of national liberation in the republic. This process of advancing toward the republic's sovereignty and statehood is accelerating but, however, it is advancing slowly.

It would be inconsistent on my part if I raised a question about the center's slowness now. I am convinced that we have embarked upon the way of applying for permission and issuing directives. Nothing good will come of this. A republic should itself determine what rights it can and wants to delegate to the union, what rights it surrenders temporarily due to circumstances, and what rights it absolutely retains for itself.

The perestroyka of the center, in my view, should not imply a speedily drawn up legislation; a radical reshaping of the psychology of relations is required. Today, perhaps, everybody agrees that it is precisely a strong centralized political and economic governing that is deforming and destroying the union of republics. At the same time, we come across the center's sincere incomprehension of how the centralization of the country's political and economic management can be relaxed.

The handing of rights to the republics and the relaxation of the centralization of management are regarded as weakening the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the idea of republics' political and economic sovereignty as a kind of treason and the destruction of the USSR. It seems to me that today our country is more preoccupied with the problems of preserving a strong center than with solving the problems of liberating people's initiative, their freedom equally in business and political activities which, properly speaking, determine perestroyka. In our view, it is precisely the democratization of economic and political life that is the main task of perestroyka. It is precisely in this that we see the meaning of perestroyka. The people's plans, namely, progress toward independence and progress toward statehood, are also the party's plans.

The Lithuanian Communist Party, at its latest congress, raised the problem of statehood and republican sovereignty as a central task of the CP of Lithuania. Together with the people, it raised this banner quite high. And this is not self-isolation, but rather the democratization of relations and the expansion of links with our environment in which we live. Important changes are taking place in the party stimulated by the 20th CP of Lithuania Congress. These changes, in preparing for the congress, advance in the direction of democratizing the party masses. It is democratization from below. The preparation itself for the congress proceeded from below, it proceeded from party organizations, and we had a whole range of alternative drafts both on the program and the rules. We heeded the view of all the primary organizations and many collectives which had submitted their proposals concerning the way the party should advance. And this democratization within the party is, in my view, precisely the process of perestroyka which shows our understanding of perestroyka within the party, the perestroyka that should accompany our party activity.

And today I would only like to mention two more points. The first point is that, again, the party and its independence does not imply self-isolation from the union's communists as is often attempted to ascribe to us and to make us reject the idea. We want to take an active part, precisely as partners, in perestroyka throughout the entire country, and not the country only but in the world around us, too, because you have wonderfully stirred this powerful popular movement in all the states around us and in others. We want to take part in this movement so that the world restructures itself and the new thinking triumphs throughout the world.

And we too want to participate in this process and that is why our links must get stronger, stronger, rather than weaken, and it is in strong and flexible ties with the CPSU, on the basis of an equal partnership and not on rigid dictatorial subordination, that we see the success of a real renewal of our party.

And a second point—the second point is that at the moment our Lithuanian Communist Party is certainly undergoing certain hardships, but it is merging with the...[changes thought] It reflects those needs of the people, of the working people and of our active and creative intellectuals, on the political way toward sovereignty and national liberation. I will end on that. My reserve of thoughts has finished. Perhaps we agree as follows, perhaps Mikhail Sergeyevich will tell us...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] But may be the comrades will say something else. Just now I spoke for 6 hours straight. Now I want to listen a little more.

[Pozhela] Perhaps someone wants to...[changes thought] Oh in that case yes, please, please, who would like to speak?

Matulevicius, [first name and patronym indistinct], general director of the (?Mereng) production Association, candidate of economic science and member of the CP of Lithuania Central Committee.

[Matulevicius] Esteemed comrades, esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich. It's very pleasant for us to meet you today because it was you who began the process of democratization in our society and we have breathed, in this long-awaited time of change, the air of freedom. And today we do not want the start made by you and taken up

by us, the generation that some believe lost—though we believe that the middle generation to which I consider I belong, can still do a great deal. Nevertheless, we believe in perestroyka and consider that it must proceed. There is, however, a danger that one has to advance and have the right to choose—there is no democracy without the right to choose. It is the people itself that decide how it should be, how it should live and how it should work. Communists must also decide for themselves. The antipode of democracy is the usurpation of the right to the truth, to imniscience, and to the role of a senior who can tell a junior or a child what may and must be done.

I know you are a man committed to the processes of democracy, but I did not fully understand you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, when at the second congress of USSR People's Deputies you said that you were in favor of the right of nations to self-determination, which is written even in the existing USSR Constitution, but that you nevertheless recognize that fact only with the amendment that it is impossible to leave the union at the present time.

Nobody is saying that Lithuania is about to get up and leave the USSR right now. In principle, however, there must be a clear and precise mechanism, a legal mechanism, and the people must have that right. It has to be said clearly and frankly today that even the leaders recognized by us, such as our first Secretary of the CP of Lithuania Central Committee comrade Brazauskas...[changes thought] we have not yet empowered any one person to resolve that issue. that right belongs only to the Lithuanian people and to the people living in the republic. We have to have an understanding about this between the republic and the center. Otherwise, it's a one-sided conversation, and the decision of the 20th CP of Lithuania Congress was dictated by objectivity, by a dialectical understanding of the development of processes in society, and in my view when the center and certain colleagues-comrades in the republic say that this is a blow against perestroyka this sounds unconvincing.

Is perestroyka really so weak? Will we really not defend perestroyka? Surely through these processes we are intensifying it in the localities, realizing that this process of democratization has to be liberated—do we really have to be afraid of this? There is a tendency to be afraid that the conservative forces, which we have sufficient of here also, will turn everything back. But, it seems to me that you have done a great deal and that we have already crawled into that breech, so that there is no going back. If we were to turn back there would only be chaos. And nobody in the republic intends to allow any retreating.

I think the time of cowardice is over. We shall now go all the way, and if we are hindered let us speak frankly and loudly, for we in the republic were very offended by the tone of the CPSU Central Committee appeal—I mean in August—when, once again, we heard the same old lessons on how to behave—or even the latest CPSU Central Committee plenum—as if things are clearer to someone on the outside. After all, if you say that the decision of the Lithuanian communists' congress is a matter for the whole party, the whole party is around 20 million people, and one cannot, once again, usurp the right of those 20 million.

There's also, for example, the fuss over the republic's economic independence. I apologize for expressing myself perhaps emotionally, but it's best to speak frankly and directly. This law was dragged out for a long time and ended up shorn a little. We realize that you put in a great deal of personal effort to ensure that it was adopted, but yesterday's discussion with esteemed Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov in the council of Ministers...[changes thought] again we are getting entangled, again the decision of the council of Ministers that drew up the draft, again there has to be a compromise. The people have not given us the right to compromise and will not understand it. We have to feel that the center also wants changes not in words but in deed.

Speculation is being whipped up here over the idea that the decisions of the communists, and indeed the perestroyka processes in Lithuania, are being directed by a group of radicals craving for power. No. This is the view of our people. You probably know about the rally that took place today. But it wasn't only a rally. In fact, I would say it's wrong to (?solve things by) rally democracy; we have to look around at the times we're living in, where we're living, and we have to want to hear one another. I call upon both those comrades of ours who have broken away and the members of the CPSU Central committee to hear one another; dialogue would then be possible. Only on that understanding and partnership can we build our mutual relations. The people have the right to decide how they should live and work; we do not wish to decide for other people, nor do we wish others to decide for us. Lithuania's communists will follow their people, for they are a part of that people. But if anyone does not wish to, that is his private affair.

It seems to us that if the center had a better understanding in good time of all our economic and political initiatives today's dialogue would have been a softer one. I think that the discussions and your visit to the republic will help to clear up the situation and we shall probably begin hearing one another. Thank you. [passage ommitted, in answer to a question from Gorbachev, Matulevicius recalls his early days a party member, denouncing the fact that the party decided everything and calling for a better cadre policy as the solution]

[Gorbachev] Tell me please, for the party to be democratized, for it to implement Lenin's idea—i.e. the power of the party masses—for all these nomenclature approaches and games to be destroyed, for this democracy to penetrate everywhere, from the primary organizations to the Central Committee, and in elections, in debates and the formation of structures is it necessary to leave the CPSU?

[Matulevicius] Mikhail Sergeyevich, the point is that the CPSU has not addressed these issues. And second, still

today we do not know the opinion of the entire CPSU. Seriously. When Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev spoke briefly on Panorama, he said that the decision of the Lithuanian Communists was a matter for the whole party. Our congress was held in a more democratic way, for the elections of deputies to the congress were held in primary organizations for the first time. I was elected a delegate by our collective in the primary party organization. We have 220 communists.

[Gorbachev] In other words, you doubt that the CPSU is capable of renewal?

[Matulevicius] Until we held the congress we really did have doubts. But we do not wish to completely break off relations now; we have to seek new forms of cooperation.

[Gorbachev] I see. [applause]

[Pozhela] The floor is given to Academician Zhukausias, vice- president of the Academy of Sciences.

[Zhukausias] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, comrades! In the last year and a half, sharp changes have occurred in the mood of the people of Lithuania. Whereas before the 19th party conference in 1988 the CP of Lithuania had merely proclaimed the slogan—for democratization in the party—and Sajudis had merely been putting forward the idea of regional financial autonomy, now it is written into not only the program of the Sajudis, but also into the program of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania that one of the main objectives is to restore the sovereign Lithuanian state. This reflects a sharp change in the general mood of the inhabitants of Lithuania. Now, more than 80 percent of the inhabitants are in favor of a politically and economically independent Lithuania and of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania. One of the main causes—and there are many—of this turn in the minds of the people is the continually and severely deteriorating economic situation both in the union as a whole as a whole and in the republic. People see empty shops. Every day, more and more items disappear from the shelves. On the market, prices are increasing catastrophically. Careful analysis over the past 2 years of the decisions and resolutions which have been adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers in the sphere of economics and management of the national economy shows that in the majority of cases they either achieve nothing, or lead to a sharp deterioration of the country's economy.

For example, on 20 November, the Supreme Soviet passed a decision on extra measures to stabilize the consumer market, which reduces everything, for the most part, to suspending, for 1990, the operation of particular articles of the law on the state enterprise which was passed earlier. Whereas over the past decades, the average increase of inflation has been around 3 percent, last year average inflation for the union increased sharply, as we know, to 10 percent, and for Lithuania even by more than 20 pecent. In Lithuania, the greater growth of inflation is also connected with the free export of a huge volume of goods by Polish citizens. People say that if the border guards and customs officials subordinated to the center don't protect little Lithuania from the invasion of its neighbor which has a population of 40 million, then what is the point of being part of the Soviet Union? Both the inhabitants and we specialists and academics are losing all hope. In december, the Congress of People's deputies passed a decision on measures to improve the economy.

[Gorbachev, interrupts] So they ate the Soviet Union with their sausage, yes?

[Unidentified speaker] What?

[Gorbachev] They put the destiny of the Soviet Union on the level of sausage.

[Zhukauskas] But both the decision and the report of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers arouse pessimism. The main measures that would be capable of balancing and sharply improving the socialist economy of the country are not provided for, and the measures proposed are ineffective and are merely partial and temporary. Above all, the decision has been adopted but we have yet to see any practical action. In November, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a law on economic independence for the Baltic Republics. But here too, the optimism which appeared is evaporating. The USSR Council of Ministers has still not adopted any decision for its realization. Moreover, the union ministries or departments, instead of giving the help that is usually given to beginners, has, on the contrary, been introducing various financial restrictions and considerably reducing, or cancelling altogether, deliveries and supply. What virtually amounts to a kind of economic blockade of Lithuania is beginning.

All this is simply embittering the people. It has also aroused among the majority of the republic's population a single desire: for a politically and economically independent Lithuania. That desire of the people is shared by most communists. And therefore it was alogical step, supported by the people when the 20th CP of Lithuania Congress—by an overwhelming majority of the votes of the elected delegates—adopted a declaration on the independence of the CP of Lithuania.

We understand that the situation is undoubtedly difficult—difficult for us, difficult, too, for the CPSU Central Committee, and for you. We, Mikhail Sergeyevich, [corrects himself] you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, have introduced throughout the world the popular new words perestroyka, glasnost, and consensus. Now everyone in the republic, and not just in the republic, expect from you a consensus in Lithuania. But any political solution is only effective if backed up economically. Therefore, we desire not just economic improvement in the whole of the Soviet Union but also a very benevolent attitude toward our republic on the part of the center and the USSR Council of Ministers and the union ministries and departments. Thank you.

[Gorbachev] As I understand it, what you're saying has been thought out, and you can see that to settle the questions that have now accumulated in the republic, to do that you have to withdraw from the CPSU and from the Soviet Union. Have I understood you correctly?

[Zhukauskas] And I am analyzing the causes. There are many causes, and one of the main causes is the economic situation. That's what I'm saying.

[Gorbachev] I've heard everything. I've even noted down what you have said. So the final conclusion is that you consider there's no alternative: you must withdraw from the Soviet Union. As a step toward that step, you must withdraw from the CPSU. Is that right? I ask you this.

[Zhukauskas] I said 80 - more than 80 percent of the population...words indistinct as he and Gorbachev briefly speak at once]

[Gorbachev] I'm asking you. I'm asking you for your point of view. Let's talk seriously. We have assembled here—as the comrades have said—those who are present here are those who take upon themselves the responsibility and are willing to offer arguments for each viewpoint and for each conclusion. So I want to understand you. We are having a dialogue, a direct dialogue. You see, the cameras are here, everyone's listening and taking notes. So why should we dissemble? We're here as people who in general want to move forward to the truth, and who want all the people to understand us—what it is we're after. So that means that you have investigated all the alternatives. Could you tell me what other alternatives you have looked at, apart from withdrawing from the Soviet Union—other approaches to resolving the problem?

[Zhukauskas] First, Mikhail Sergeyevich, as to your question: I have to say that for the 20th congress I was elected in a rayon and invited...[changes thought] the election was in a group of primary party organizations, they elected me as a delegate to the 20th congress and passed a decision as to how I must vote at the congress and to what passed a decision as to how I must vote at the congress and to what position I must adhere. That was not the first time, the first time I'd been a delegate to the congress, but it was the first time I had clear instructions. And I have to say that that position was voted for by more than 80 percent of the delegates at the congress; and they were expressing, not their personal opinion, but the opinion of the communists who had elected them—who had elected them. So it was public opinion—not some sort of organized public opinion, but public opinion...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Yes, but in answer to my main question...

[Zhukauskas, interrupting] I'm answering it, you main question. So that economic [changes thought] the general opinion is that over the past 2 years our economic situation has worsened so much that I'm saying that a year, a year and a-half ago it was not so. Now, the general view is that if we want to improve the economy and want everything to go normally, we must evidently take the path of finlandization.

[Gorbachev] Thank you, everything is clear.

[Zhukauskas] And that means that if we want to pursue economic indepdence, then we've got to do the same politically.

[Gorbachev] As an academician and a man of learning, you will have calculated what that means for the people, for the republic, for the union. You've thought it all out, marshalled the arguments for the choice scientifically.

[Zhukauskas] I consider that it will be a useful choice, both for Lithuania and for the whole union, if we...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] All that's clear. You've calculated all that.

[Zhukauskas] Yes. (?I've assessed it.)

[Gorbachev] Very well, very well.

[Pozhela] The floor is given to Vysotskiy, secretary of the Salcininkai Rayon party committee. Then it will be Romaldas Grigas.

[Vysotskiy] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, esteemed comrades. Forgive me but I have somewhat different views. In the Salcininkai Rayon where I live over 90 percent of its communists advocated a self-reliant CP of Lithuania forming part of the CPSU. [passage omitted]

It seems to me that at the CP of Lithuania Congress that adopted the statute there was nothing communist. That is to say in my opinion this statute—and I would ask you to hear me out—contains nothing that is communist and nothing that is Marxist-Leninist. Nor does it contain proletarian internationalism. Therefore I too share the platform adopted by the CPSU and consider that this party cannot be a communist party. It would seem that before long it will not be such a party.

The second matter that I should like to raise is indeed the protection of minorities. Twenty percent of those residing in the republic are people of other nationalities, and the recently adopted law on minorities does not indeed give us rights. For example in our rayon 80 percent of the population are Polish. Since the Lithuanian language has now been introduced as the state language, it is very difficult and it is absolutely impossible to learn this language in 2 years. [passage omitted]

[Pozhela] The floor is given to Romualdas Grigas.

[Grigas] I have been a member of the Communist Party since 1956 and I think that those 8 years that I spent in Moscow permit me to express a few points. I should like to make three points.

First, Comrade Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited us 2 years ago. He brought us the

dove of the new thinking. I believe that Mikhail Sergeyevich's visit will also be an out-of- the-ordinary event in the fate of our people. Let me return to the visit by Yakovlev. He proclaimed that it was necessary to go over from the formula of either/or to the formula of both/and. That is to say, go over from the division into two colors, black and white. I think that rejection of this formula is indeed a new step in thinking. It provided an extraordinary incentive to us in the republic for perestroyka and for national rebirth. I think that this reflects the diversity of the world in which we live which is not a monistic one.

At the present time we are to some extent confused. We are now hearing the formula either/or—either you are part of the CPSU or else you are no longer our friends. This is painful. Here indeed, as President Pozhela said, it is necessary to construct relations based on partnership. I am aware that this is a very complex matter, but one needs to heed what he said because the world is really diverse.

Second, we who have adopted a stance in favor of an independent Communist Party of Lithuania have been accused of committing shameful violations since our congress was organized adhering to the rules and program of the CPSU and the outcome was somewhat different. But after all, if one is guided by this logic, there will actually be no perestroyka and there will be no revolutionary transformation of Soviet society. The reason is that the old forms put pressure on content, and we need to assimilate this well.

The third point concerns the understanding of the principle of unity. [passage omitted]

Another problem is the fate of nations. We have drawn up red books [lists of endangered species] for various tiny insects, we have drawn them up for birds and we have drawn them up for vegetation, but to all intents and purposes whole peoples and ethnic groups are disappearing. Let us also draw up a red book for people. [passage omitted]

A final point is that during the years of Soviet rule the imprint of not being of full value has lain upon the Lithuanians and not only on them. They have been beset by the younger brother complex. Now thanks to perestroyka a healing of this illness is intensively under way. This illness has led to the plain spiritual and moral degradation not only of the individual but also of the nation. This is particularly noticeable in the case of young people. I think that it is necessary very seriously to take this into consideration in the attempts to untie this complex Gardian knot.

[Pozhela] The floor is given to Jasukaityte, chairperson of the Lithuanian women's council and writer.

[Jasukaityte] I shall read my speech because I feel very emotional. [passage omitted] On the initiative of the Lithuanian Women's Council, a commission has been formed in Lithuania under the Supreme soviet on questions concerning army servicemen. On a single day the commission receives about 70 complaints and requests for assistance. Soldiers are deserting because of the unbearable brutality. Coffins containing the bodies of maimed youngsters are constantly arriving. Last month, for instance, six bodies arrived, and the numbers now dying during peactime in the Soviet Army in Lithuania at the same time greatly exceed the numbers that perished in Afghanistan. This is a very painful thing. In the course of the commission's work straight forward crimes came to light, and we can firmly say that corruption, alcoholism, and bribery are flourishing in the army. The soldiers' Mothers' fund—a fund that exists in Russia—has been declaring that the Soviet Army is a potential spreader of AIDS, since our children are being raped there. We, the union of women, a year ago gathered 200,000 signatures with specific points, directions, demands, and requests to improve service conditions. We were seeking ways to assist perestroyka within the defense system, which with its closed character is of difficult access for perestroyka and the process of democratism. These 200,000 signatures have remained unanswered. Some time later—cooperation advancing—the people gathered 1.5 million signatures saying that the Soviet Army should be withdrawn from Lithuania, and this also remains unanswered.

General Yazov promised Algirdas Brazauskas, our respected first secretary, that he would leave a greater number to serve closer to home. This indeed is no crime that—there would be fewer difficulties and fewer adaptations. This is, of course, no crime, but the minister simply deceived people. This deception was carried out not by just anyone, not by a salesman, as we say, but by the USSR defense minister. Our Prime Minister also went off to talks also with Gen Yazov, and the results of those talks were also zero.

The generals accuse us of extremism and say that the deaths of soldiers in peace time are isolated occurrences. No! They are the result of the inhumane character of the whole system. [passage omitted]

Gen Yazov now has a fine opportunity and his final opportunity. If he does not want the relationship between the army and the people to assume an irreversible character, he should come to Lithuania or send his high military officials so that here on the spot the question may be resolved along with our specialists of how best to deploy our young men so that they may serve only in Lithuania. If he does not do this, a very important chance will have been missed. [passage omitted]

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[TASS report on M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with representatives of Lithuania's creative and scientific intelligentsia in Vilnius on 11 January under general heading "Solving Our Common Problems Together"]

[Text] A meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and representatives of the republic's creative and scientific intelligentsia took place at the Vilnius Press House on the evening of 11 January. It was opened by Yu. Pozhela, president of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences. The meeting was then addressed by A. Matulyavichyus, general director of "Neringa" Production Association; A. Zhukauskas, vice president of the republic's Academy of Sciences; Ch. Vysotskiy, secretary of Shalchininkskiy Rayon party committee; Professor R. Grigas; writer V. Yasukaytite; V. Martinkus, chairman of the Lithuanian Writers Union Board; N. Kasatkina, representative of the Russian Cultural Center in Lithuania; I. Vladimirov, worker at the Vilnius construction and finishing machines plant; R. Povilenis, prorector of Vilnius University; A. Chistyakov, secretary of Vilnius City party committee; Yu. Nekroshyus, chairman of the republic's State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; and others. They expressed their opinion on the most acute aspects of today's situation in Lithuania—in the political, economic, social, and spiritual spheres. Unfortunately, the opinions were at times more emotional rather than analytical and objective, which is so necessary today.

The meeting was addressed by M.S. Gorbachev.

I can understand much of what I heard here, M.S. Gorbachev said, the alarms, the anxiety, and your opinions, even though these last were few and far between. I already perceive a clearly established majority, as it were, and this is why pluralism is making headway with difficulty, and even when it does make some headway, it is right away told: That's enough, we've got it all sorted out now. It is this "we've got it all sorted out" that actually worries me. Let me tell you this bluntly. I have the impression that someone wants to impose a professorial scheme on real life, on the whole people, despite the realities without which, as is well known, there can be neither science nor cause-and-effect linkage. Another perturbing factor is the certain lack of comprehension of priorities without which, generally speaking, nothing can be properly appraised, neither in the past nor in the present, nor can a forecast of the future be made. These are the schemes which we experienced only too well under Stalin. They were being invented and imposed on the people, then we ended up with the enemy image and the other attributes of totalitarianism, and society was driven into the required scheme. And whenever this did not work out, heads rolled. The main point was that the scheme was in existence.

I am afraid that nothing but a scheme has been produced here, in professorial circles, and it proves to have had certain sacred feelings kneaded in with it. Take no offense, this is a heart-to-heart conversation. I will reason with you frankly and would like you to understand my position. I think that this professorial corpus is exploiting certain immense natural feelings: man's national feeling, his feelings for the motherland, the small motherland, and everything to which we are bound—our mother and our land. People have lived here for centuries, their roots are here, their ancestors' graves are here. This cannot be disregarded, this must be taken into account.

But this must under no circumstances be the object of speculations. The past must always be evaluated only in the context of a specific history, a specific age and its movement. In exactly the same way, today it is possible to elaborate policy, reliable and scientifically substantiated policy, only if present realities are taken into account. But if this policy simply latches on to people's natural desire and wants to build its own scheme on the basis of this desire and then to squeeze life within the procrustean bed of this scheme, I think that this will end up as yet another disaster, yet another disaster!

I am only just beginning my reasoning, so don't be in a hurry to get excited, follow my line of thought. It is time to think, the rallies are over and emotions ought to be left to writers and actors. Everything in its proper place. But when the issue concerns the future of the country and the people and all the mutual relationships, reality must be fully perceived. This is where metaphysics ends. Schemes are the most frightening part of metaphysics. We drove metaphysics into the collective farms, everywhere you would like to mention, you know all about this—this audience's competence relieves me of having to perform such a routine, as it were, job.

My credo is that the country cannot carry on living the way it did. It must renew itself. In all its organically linked parts and structures. This means that both the base and the superstructure—the spiritual world, the federation, the Army—everything must renew itself. You will soon see this in our party's program document. This document is extremely necessary now. Why? We will not solve anything by using the old approaches, the deformed structures, the Stalinist concept of a totalitarian state, the system which had the entire organism in its grips and deprived it of oxygen and movement. This is why, despite Hegel's winged words about "learning from history," the answers must be sought not by turning backwards but by looking into the future, by taking the path of renewal.

It is well known that the new society, as Lenin perceived it, is a living creation of the people, a system of the working people. It can neither be born nor exist without democracy. This system will either get deformed or will perish without democracy. We all have experienced this. This is why the revival of Lenin's concept of socialism is associated with democratization and glasnost which permeate the entire society and all spheres of life. And this society's objective is to bring everything out and gear it toward man. This is precisely what underlies our concept of perestroyka. And I repeat, subject to the most active and direct involvement by people themselves, the participants in this process. For me personally, that was a question of a serious choice both as a politician and as a Communist. Now I cannot be separated from it.

We have now aroused and galvanized colossal forces. They must without fail be given constructive guidelines. We must be constantly concerned about this. Naturally, we are approaching the point where we will achieve nothing in our multinational state unless we tackle the federation, the position of the peoples, and their future. Unless we interpret this phenomenon: A vast multinational state with hundreds of peoples, cultures, and languages—and the serious situation in which many of them have found themselves.

All this stems from life and was reflected in our policy. This is why we racked our brains for so long over the concept which was reflected in the CPSU platform on the nationalities question. I know that not all of you were enthusiastic about it. Since this is the focus of all debates on Lithuanian soil and is directly associated with the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, it is evidently worth while dwelling on it in more detail. Let me say at once that, as far as I am concerned, the provision of the old Constitution and all our constitutions that our union republics have the right to self-determination is of fundamental political importance. When I assess what you have said, I get the impression that you are to a certain extent tilting at windmills. You are fighting against the past, of which a lot is being said now and which I reject as much as you do. Both the party and the people, we are already parting company with this past, we are abruptly breaking with it. True enough, some people are altogether unwilling to part company with it.

Nonetheless, the country's choice has been made: It is time to switch from this past to the broad highway of dynamic development and revival of the people and the country. In your arguments, you are constantly returning to the past. We have already appraised it, we are mapping out the path ahead of us, but you are still fighting against this past. But here is something that is most dangerous of all—some people have already started fighting against perestroyka. And they want to arrive at the conclusion that perestroyka does not answer the questions posed by life, including those in the sphere of interethnic relations. Fresh arguments are launched in this context. Think of the emotions, grief, and uncertainty in the future that these "arguments" have provoked among many people living in Lithuania! (Commotion in the hall.) Take it easy, take it easy—justified or not, they do exist, they are also a reality. But there is also another way. It is my profound belief that there is only one way to political sovereignty, to economic independence, to cultural development, and to preservation of all traditions—through the constitutions of sovereign states united within a federation. Do you know what a federation is?

Exclamations in the hall: We know, we know.

M.S. Gorbachev: How can you know, seeing that we have never lived in one. We know that the Lithuanians are a restrained people. But where does this all vanish, including pluralism of opinions, so quickly when I ask you to hear out my arguments! And why such caution [nastorozhennost] in conversations with the comrades who arrived here and represent the CPSU Central Committee, Russia, the various republics, Moscow, or other cities? After all, they all are sincerely concerned people, thinking of the same thing as you—how we should move forward. Forward—but together.

Withdrawal into isolation appears an alluring dream. We are in favor of self-determination right up to separation [otdeleniye]. In this context, instructions have been issued to elaborate a draft law on the mechanism for exercise of this right by any republic. Such a draft is already in existence and it will be submitted to Union-wide discussion and referendum. And this will concern all peoples.

There might be some people who have a rather simplistic idea that, it is claimed, elections will be held any day now, you will assemble, you will take a vote, and you will get out of the Soviet Union right away—but this is not politics. This is a joke. After all, in such an event you will have to resolve issues with all the republics and the state. What will happen to people who, should you separate, would want to get out? For example, who will compensate them for the housing they will leave behind, who will offer them new jobs? This is a very far-reaching, painful, and serious process. A constitutional right exists, but no mechanism has been worked out. Perestroyka will produce nothing unless we resolve this question. But I am in favor of its solution within the framework of a federation, because otherwise we would encounter such an exacerbation of human relations that the entire Union and all peoples will be set back and great losses will result. This is why it is necessary to advance slowly but properly, without rushing ahead. A start has already been made: The Supreme Soviet is in the process of solving the questions of land and ownership. Next in line is a law on the separation of powers between union and republican organs. Everything must be clear-cut, not as it is now: A republic may undermine a supreme law, while a supreme law "delves" into matters which can actually be resolved at rural soviet level.

We will advance very actively without destroying, without jeopardizing the mainstays of our union, without engendering mutual suspicions. Look at the turmoil all over the country! Perestroyka is unfolding, we all are moving in the direction of democratization and sovereignty, so what do the Lithuanians want? And people start saying: It is impossible that the people are in favor of such a path. The people must take a better look at this, and they will, of course, take a better look when they are told what they will have to live through, what awaits them in such an event. They will think it over. This is why I am in favor of the other way. You must know of this belief of mine. I must understand your way of thinking, but in exactly the same way you must know with whom you are dealing. I was told a few days ago that the "Sajudis" Sejm was in session and the following was said there: We must say that we are supporting Gorbachev's line while pursuing our own line in life.

Voices: Untrue! I am a Sejm member, nothing like this happened.

M.S. Gorbachev: Fine. I am pleased to hear you refute this. Grave trials await you if you were to entrust the republic's future in the hands of such "two-faced politicians." They are people who elevate their own ambitions and unfulfilled career aspirations above all else, and even suffer from nostalgia for the past. And so, what do you want? A young boy told me in the square by Lenin's monument: We want freedom, Mikhail Sergeyevich. A normal desire! You want to be free, Comrade Prunskene, and so do I. But we have come across each other, we live within a single collective, and we must take account of each other. Do we restrict our freedom by doing so? Of course we do. But how can we live otherwise? How else?

Some time ago I had a conversation with Mrs Thatcher, which was very heated to start with. We then clarified each other's stance. And I recalled Palmerston's famous words that England has neither eternal enemies nor eternal friends, it only has eternal interests. So what is to happen in this world, where we utilize the same nature, resources, seas, and oceans and strive to get closer to one another? There is no alternative but to recognize each people's right to make a choice, to arrive at a balance of interests in the same way as such a balance is arrived at in a collective, a family, among comrades, and in your republic. This means a free Lithuania, an independent Lithuania, but simultaneously a Lithuania belonging to one community or another. Were you by any chance more independent when 57 percent of the capital here was foreign? Did you feel very independent? What sort of Lithuanian paradise was it if Lithuanians left it? I am doing nothing but reasoning with you: After all, you can take this difficult path, the path of demolishing, destroying, laying down boundary strips and even borders.

Would it not be better to take advantage of everything valuable that has been accumulated, to cast off that which has poisoned our souls and has even left its mark on our relations? And to advance jointly, giving each other an opportunity to develop [razvernutsya]. I recall how—not only just after the war but even as late as in the sixties—Belorussians and Lithuanians came over to us to earn some grain in order to have something to eat and something to sow. Look at Lithuania today, it presents a completely different image. Get rid of certain deformations—human, political, and economic—and it has a great potential. But it is programmed in such a fashion that it can be realized only in collaboration with the entire country and other peoples. This is the point. This is why it is necessary not to break economic, political, spiritual, and cultural ties but to enrich them with new content.

I am convinced that Lithuania will gain nothing from perestroyka unless the Lithuanian people feel that they are masters of their own land. But the Lithuanian people will never feel free if their prosperity is built on humiliation and disregard of other peoples' rights. Such is the dialectics of the issue. Let us find a solution together.

It is from these positions that I perceive the CPSU's role. Why were we all so worried by the decision of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress? In the renewed political system, when we are guiding centrifugal forces along the path of democratization and decentralization, the party is needed as a consolidating and uniting force operating in the interests of the entire USSR. This is why we are in favor of a united CPSU. Imagine this, we will be elaborating long-term prospects for the Union and discussing program documents, while Comrade Brazauskas will sit in Vilnius and read the newspaper, an impartial observer? How else, though, seeing that he is no longer a member of the CPSU.

Commotion in the hall. Voices: Invite him to the congress!

M.S. Gorbachev: You are taking the simplistic view, this is much more serious. What should be the status of communist parties in the republics—this is a question of their economic and political sovereignty. I think that, in the new conditions, the communist parties must without fail be represented on the CPSU's leadership organs. In other words, this autonomy must be exercised in everything—from presence in the top leadership to autonomy in solving structural, financial, and publishing questions. So, consolidate this autonomy within the CPSU's framework so that you can influence both the policy and the leadership of the CPSU.

I am in favor of renewal of federation and against separatism. Some people interpret this approach as a continuation of imperial thinking. I personally find this thinking organically unacceptable. My approach is based on realities. Primarily the interconnection in the economic sphere which, in the transition from unitary state to federation, ought to reveal the rich potential of all republics. Surely, today we all are richer by being able to read Mezhelaytis and Oleynik in all languages, as well as Rytkheu, who represents the Northern peoples? These are realities—all these exchanges which have become part and parcel of our life. You have cited quotations to me—I accept this. But there is also real life, the people's life. I also accept that.

One of the speakers at the Vilnius rally said yesterday: We expect Gorbachev as the leader of a friendly country. What have we come to, as the saying goes. This is the ultimate in political coquetry but, let me tell you, it is not all that harmless and innocent. Political games cannot be played when the future of peoples is at stake. They cannot. Therefore, dear comrades, let us think and find answers—within the framework of cooperation and collaboration. I believe that we will find them. (Applause).

Krivosheyev on Lithuanian Author's Claims

LD1301165590 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy:

Authoress Vidmante Jasukaitite, in her remarks during the meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Lithuanian creative intellectuals and scientists in Vilnius on January 11, voiced complaints addressed to the USSR Defence Ministry in connection with a number of matters concerning the military service of youths drafted from that Soviet Baltic Republic.

In this connection Colonel General Grigoriy Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces' General Staff, told TASS as follows:

"To begin with, I would like to emphasise that we are far from the idea of concealing or glossing over drawbacks in the life of the Armed Forces. There are drawbacks, and we are rightfully criticised for them.

"We are for a frank talk with members of the public on any matters. I think the talk will be the more productive, the more well-considered arguments and less emotions will be in it. Therefore, I cannot but express regret in view of a certain emotional colouring of the authoress' remarks.

"On the substance of complaints voiced, it is difficult for me to judge what sources of information Jasukaitite used when she mentioned a promise ostensibly made by the Defence Ministry to allow a greater proportion of draftees from the Republic to serve in the Baltic military district.

"No one made such a promise. The reply given by the Soviet defence minister to the leaders of the Republic in April 1989 specified that, considering really existing possibilities, it was decided to send up to 20 percent of draftees from Lithuania to serve with the troops of the Baltic military district.

"The real picture is as follows: 26.9 percent of draftees from the Republic were left to serve in the district last year. With Lithuanians who serve in Leningrad, Belorussia, Moscow, and Kiev military districts and with the Baltic fleet added to this number, the total figure will account for more than 80 percent.

"The authoress in her remarks mentioned cases of the death of servicemen. Yes, there were, unfortunately, such instances, also involving those drafted into the Army from the Republic.

"Without going into the cause of that now (this is the subject for a separate talk), I want to emphasise that each such case means anguish and tragedy to us. It is thoroughly investigated. We realise what this means to the mother and father to lose a son.

"But however heavy the loss, it is still unpardonable to depart from the positions of objectivity. It was alleged that six Lithuanian servicemen died in December last year. The truth is that not a single Lithuanian serviceman died in the units of the Soviet Army or Navy in the above-mentioned month.

"Deep bewilderment is also caused by the authoress' assertion about some 'norms' of losses for exercises and manoeuvres. No such sacrilegious 'norms' exist.

"The assertion that the Army is allegedly the propagator of AIDS [Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome] also remains on the conscience of the authoress. In the army, there are no people ill with AIDS."

The best way to avoid false rumours and disinformation is to see everything for oneself, Krivosheyev said. The ministry is ready to render assistance to representatives of the Lithuanian public who would like to see on the spot how their fellow-countrymen perform their military duty, the general pointed out.

Gorbachev Meeting With Vilnius Workers Reported

Moscow TV Account

LD1301011590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1907 GMT on 12 January broadcasts a video account of Gorbachev's meeting with the collective of the Vilnius Fuel Equipment Association on 11 January. Gorbachev begins to speak at 1908 GMT, and his 57-minute speech ends at 2005 GMT.

At 2006, engineer Simonenko takes the floor to talk about de-bolshevizing the party. Another man says he believes in the CPSU as the only party that can help. Engineer Gregulevich and Barontsevich, a worker, also make emotional speeches. Engineer Krasovskiy recalls a cartoon character whose catchphrase is "Comrades, let us live in harmony."

At 2011, Gorbachev returns to the podium to give his concluding remarks. At 2030, a question and answer session begins with Gorbachev reading out the questions.

The first deals with Sajudis' access to radio and television, and how Moscow relates to Sajudis. Gorbachev's response: We must listen to the opinions of all, and only then can we come to a balanced conclusion. That said, says Gorbachev, we are against a monopoly on access to the media. There must not be a press that is at the service of a group. As for how Moscow regards Sajudis, then I believe that everything healthy that there is in Sajudis should be supported, he says. Everything that is extremist or separatist ought to be condemned, says Gorbachev.

At 2026, the next question is read: How do you view the unification of Polish regions of Lithuania in a Polish

autonomous formation? Gorbachev's response: The Polish populace should hope for and expect equality in all spheres of life.

At 2029, in response to a question about a sovereign Lithuanian state, Gorbachev says that even in the old constitution it is stated that every republic is a sovereign state with the rights of a sovereign state. Sovereignty and independence do not run counter as concepts to the concept of a federation, if the federation operates properly. We do not regard everything that is going on in Lithuania as destructive or negative, says Gorbachev. It is much more complicated than that. There are, however, some points on which I do not agree with you Lithuanians, and you should know this. You have no monopoly on the truth. We must seek the truth together, he says.

At 2032, in response to a question on economic matters, Gorbachev says these issues should be tackled by the enterprises in conjunction with the center.

At 2035, Gorbachev touches on the mechanism for leaving the USSR. According to Gorbachev, comrades are saying that since the question has never before arisen, there is no proper mechanism. Any formation that has come to the conclusion that it should leave the USSR must consider matters carefully, and since it is bound up with the constitution, the supreme soviet has a right to debate the matter, he says. Gorbachev goes on to discuss details of the mechanism for a formation to leave the union.

At 2039, Gorbachev rejects a written suggestion that the CPSU Central Committee is trying to pretend that nothing is going on.

The recorded relay ends at 2043 GMT.

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[Concluding remarks by M.S. Gorbachev to Vilnius Fuel Equipment Association on 11 January under general heading "Solving Our Common Problems Together"]

[Text] Summing up the results of discussion, M.S. Gorbachev said:

What I have heard at this meeting fits the picture which I had formed on the basis of information received. And this enables me to speak on this topic: A real process of trying to comprehend all the problems which arose before our society and our peoples when we really embarked on the process of renewing all the political, economic, social, and cultural structures of society. I will perhaps be repeating myself but I will say that as a result of the policy of perestroyka we have found ourselves drawn into processes which must change our society. We are laying down new forms of life which will determine the complexion of our society for 10, 20, 50, or an entire 100 years. Thus, it is a very crucial and abrupt turning point. And this turn has to be made responsibly. Otherwise we could succumb to serious errors which cost the people dearly. That is the first thing.

The fact that even today, at this meeting, emotions have nevertheless prevailed and that there have been statements and declarations all goes to show that the process of comprehending [the problems] in our country is still at the initial stage. And it is still too early, I would say, to draw conclusions on the basis of these heated, initial discussions, where there is more emotion and still too little analysis, responsibility, and understanding of what a particular route will lead to. We should go through this stage of comprehending on the path of perestroyka within the framework of dialogue in the Union, the republics, the CPSU, and society as a whole. All those who are pressing us too hard, even from the best of motives, can only perform a disservice. I am not thinking of those who state roughly as follows: Let us say that we support the Gorbachev line while pursuing our own. That has been heard here, in Vilnius, recently. People must gain an understanding. The working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, working people, veterans, and young people have still not understood everything. Some people wish to exploit them—so long as they have still not understood everything—want to make capital out of their emotions, their natural attachment to their land and sense of disquiet and anxiety over the destiny of their people, language, and culture. The people must also see that there are those who say one thing in public while doing another: Can one entrust one's future to such people?

People must get to the bottom of everything. In this regard a long way still has to be traveled. Here some people have begun their speeches with the words: Lithuania is ahead of the Soviet Union in perestroyka. That is a cliche which I hear both in the Supreme Soviet and in conversations with some people's deputies. It is now in vogue. And I should say that there is good deal of presumptuousness here. It turns out that amidst the clash of argument and different standpoints and in various situations there is still a great deal that has not been thought through. Maybe such is permissible when trivial routine matters of everyday life are under discussion, but when we are talking about which direction to take, whom to go with, what to do, whom to cooperate with, whether to rip everything up and start from scratch or to ennoble, utilizing the useful things that have been accumulated and adding to them the new things which our common culture of cooperation allows—then we must get a more thorough understanding of all this.

Yes, I do realize that Lithuanian society, like the whole of our society, is still in a state of trying to comprehend. And therefore the decision has been received here with anxiety and disquiet—although some comrades certainly wanted the Central Committee at its recent plenum to simply pretend that nothing was happening: The attempt to rivet attention, so to speak, to heighten the issue, is quite legitimate. But it is well known that there have been visits, conversations with members of the Politburo

and workers of the Central Committee, there have been Politburo sessions, and meetings with deputies—all this has occurred in the the last 18-24 months. There was discussion in the runup to the congress and at the Central Committee plenum, and there was my own message and letter to the Communists of Lithuania. We considered and do consider now that we should ultimately—on the basis of in-depth, responsible analysis rather than under the influence of the feelings of the moment, the situation, or even the pressure of an exacerbated socioeconomic situation—ultimately we should come to the correct choice. The CPSU Central Committee plenum was very trenchant. There was the feeling expressed that drastic measures should be taken. A leader of the Central Committee here in Lithuania should be excommunicated, they said, from the CPSU, and another, and even the whole Communist Party, and yet this is not some kind of force "alien to the people," but a genuine force of the people with which the extraordinary achievements of this people and this republic are intimately bound up—despite all the well-known losses. But we eventually "cooled" the feelings and mood at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum and came to the conclusion that we needed to continue this discussion. And needed still to set off for the republic, talk some with the Communists, working people, and the people, listen to their ideas and express our own.

I think that what is currently happening is very necessary for us all, the entire people, all communist parties, all Communists, and all nonparty people. The reason being that in general all this—these different things—are very important aspects of the processes of perestroyka. I am convinced of one thing and I want to tell you this once again: We have set out on a long road of profound changes. We need understanding, analysis, self-restraint, patience, and tolerance. No one needs actions of a destructive nature which would introduce distrust in the CPSU and in the whole of society, cause the peoples to clash, and lead to high human drama. All this should be ruled out. Those who make haste, I assure you, think little about the consequences. We have hasty people in Moscow and they exist in other places too—and here I am not talking just about Lithuania—true, they do, as a rule, say that they are the passionate champions of change and want to "produce" more rapidly the major long-awaited miracle. But the miracle is not happening. We must all create, we must ourselves create, with our own hands. But before you create you must still have a firm knowledge of what precisely to create. And how to do this, whom to collaborate with, and much else.

All this requires exceptional responsibility and sets the lofty tone of the discussions which we are currently holding in debating these acute issues. The significance of what is happening should not be diminished. Some people wish to offer us the absolute truth—everything has already been found and discussion is over. No. Everything is still being sought. We must have a renewed party. We must have a renewed federation. We must have a renewed democratic structure, a renewed society. We must build all this by collaborating and cooperating rather than by destroying, expelling, cursing, and sowing mistrust and enmity with regard to one another—I am certain of this. Discord and all kinds of fiefdoms—all this has already existed in abundance, that is our history, a history which contains everything—good and bad. The fruitful path lies in collaboration. It is necessary to seek together the answers to the most difficult questions and seek them without going back into the past but by going forward, trying to comprehend the path traversed and our current mistakes and accentuating the positive, which is already appearing and increasing.

I will now answer questions. "Who, in your opinion, is to blame (blame once again) for the fact that it is only the informal movement Sajudis which is granted the freedom to use radio and television as it finds necessary, for purposes of political hypnosis and the organization of all kinds of pickets, rallies, and collections of signatures...how does Moscow regard Sajudis?"

First, I support the idea that if we have embarked on the path of democracy and glasnost—and all this is a means of revealing interests and viewpoints, and only this can move us forward, bring us together, and protect us against big mistakes—we must listen to everyone's opinion. There must be a genuine exchange of opinions. This will give us the opportunity to reach a more correct and rational answer in everything. I am therefore categorically opposed to any usurpation of the mass media and categorically against any monopolization of the mass media. And I think that those who pretend that this isn't so are performing a disservice, because a time when important decisions are being discussed and taken requires that all opinions and positions be heard. I think that the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, other public organizations, and the Supreme Soviet too should adopt a firm stance in this regard. There can be no press which is in the service of some particular group of people. (Applause).

Second. Regarding pickets, rallies, collections of signatures, and so forth, our country does have legislation on this score. Everyone is entitled to make use of it. Public organizations, social movements, and labor collectives are entitled to make use of it if there is a need to express their opinion. So that everything that is done here within the bounds of the law should, I think, meet with understanding. That which is done illegally and is at variance with the the law is to be condemned. Otherwise there will be no law-abiding society, no order, no sense of democracy and freedom.

To continue. How does Moscow regard the Sajudis movement? I touched on this question in my report. Sajudis, as its representatives themselves have told me, translates as "movement." So if you regard it as a social movement, it is very broad and many standpoints and positions are found side by side within it. You have the one and the other within the Sajudis leadership too. It seems to me that there are healthy elements in Sajudis who share the policy of perestroyka and are ready to

cooperate and make a contribution to the processes of perestroyka and everything that merits support. And I think that the Communist Party and party organizations not only have the right but, moreover, must here cooperate, conduct dialogue, and consolidate all progressive and vanguard forces on the basis of this cooperation and dialogue. The fact that there are separatist, extreme, and provocative elements in Sajudis—that, on the contrary, demands resolute condemnation. And one should not be bashful about this, one needs to make one's standpoint on these questions commonly known.

"How would you personally look at it if Vilnyusskiy and Shalchinskiy Rayons, where the overwhelming proportion of the population are Poles, were to unite and form a Polish autonomous oblast?" We believe, comrades, that the existence of areas with a high density of people of some nationality or other must be taken into account in the pursuit of both social and nationality policy. In what forms? This would be dictated by the specific situation in every republic. I think that the Polish population is entitled to expect an equal status and presence in all spheres of life. In what forms? Autonomy [avtonomiya]—be it state, cultural, or oblast—through the machinery of the Supreme Soviet's work, elections, and so on? This must be decided jointly. To be decided in such a fashion as to ensure that society is nonetheless consolidated, rather than introducing separation and opposition among people. This is why I would welcome the quest that is now beginning along this avenue. In my view, the first steps have been taken—insofar as the cultural sphere is concerned: literature, language, rituals, and so on. Everything demanded by life must be studied step by step and joint solutions must be found.

A note from the hall: "Lithuania's future means a sovereign state...." But here we have someone "fighting" a constitutional provision of our old Constitution which, of course, is already undergoing renewal. We have embarked on the process of elaborating a new Constitution. It provides that every union republic is a sovereign state. And it is sovereign in exercising its rights by delegating some of them—as it happens in all federations—to the center for the purpose of pooling intellectual, economic, technical, scientific, and cultural efforts. Pooling them in order to more decisively advance through joint cooperation. Thus, sovereignty and autonomy [samostoyatelnost] are not contradictory to a federation, if it is a genuine federation toward which we are moving and have already started taking real steps—many such steps will be taken in the course of the year—and we will move very far. It is through cooperation that we must seek answers to the new demands facing the entire federation and the constituent members of this federation. In this sense, everything that is happening in Lithuania—all this is a quest and we do not in any way consider all of it to be unambiguously negative or destructive. No. Basically, that which is being done here is along the tracks of perestroyka. It helps to arrive at common and more correct answers, taking into account the specific features of our vast state, to the questions which are really posed by life, including those concerning the sphere of our federation. There are, however, also points with which we do not agree. There are elements on which concern is being expressed in other republics. People in Lithuania must also know and ponder why such concern is being expressed. In this regard there must be not so much self-confidence—to believe that you have already got God by the beard, that you enjoy a monopoly on truth. There is no monopoly on truth. We must seek it jointly, and we shall find it jointly. (Applause)

There are questions which I have already answered. Specifically, some comrades are worried by breaches in how some of the processes within the Union are being handled. Since our economy is strongly interconnected and interdependent, social questions and the moods of people and labor collectives are also interconnected. And people are rightly worried. We sense this, comrades. The situation is partly due to the fact that, while rejecting the old methods, we are not quite successful in introducing new ones—and this, I believe, is a duty of the center and the localities, which must be quicker in seeking new approaches. In general, economic autonomy itself, be it at enterprise level or republic level, presupposes enterprising work and questing. This means that it is necessary to support that which has been produced by the past and to work out new ties, to tune up the entire mechanism. But so far not all of this has been worked out, and some comrades rightly want to reduce it all to a simple idea: In parallel with switching on the new, it is necessary to also utilize the old methods so as not to wreck the economy because this will complicate our life further still and could result in grave social and political consequences. In all probability, we did not correctly resolve everything at once in the higher echelons of power. We see that there are questions which are rightly raised now. At this transitional stage we must not lose control. It is a different matter that this ought to be pursued by methods which would make it possible to advance toward the goal faster and with fewer losses.

About the mechanism of separation from the USSR. There is an article to the effect that every republic has the right to self-determination right up to secession. And some comrades legitimately raise the question: Insofar as this problem, they say, did not actually arise in the past, and since it is now arising and affecting the Constitution, affecting our our entire constitutional system and the interests of the entire Union, there is need for a separation mechanism. Some people might think that it is all very simple: We'll hold elections tomorrow—this idea is doing the rounds in Lithuania—we'll gather in session, and we'll declare that we have withdrawn from the USSR. No. Everything is not so simple. There is a constitutional system, being the Constitution of the union state, which states that it includes and consists of such-and-such parts, union republics, autonomous republics, oblasts, national okrugs, and so on. Furthermore, similar provisions are also enshrined within the republics. All this constitutes the constitutional system.

And so, anyone who has finally arrived at the conclusion to withdraw from the Soviet Union must think everything over not just twice but a thousand times and, having weighed up everything, must apply to the Union, to all peoples on a constitutional basis. To raise the question of his wish to take advantage of such-and-such article, and so on. And the Union will discuss the matter, the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies—this is its prerogative, everything that concerns the observance of the Constitution [konstitutsionnost]. The constitutional system will be protected and defended by the full strength of state power. This is an exceptionally serious process, and we need a well-regulated [vyverennyy] mechanism for implementing the article about separation from the Union.

There are people who, in one way or another, due to either demographic or some other processes, have found themselves in some place or another and, after the question of withdrawal has been raised somewhere, they also might ask: What about them, if they do not share the desire to withdraw? There must be a mechanism which would also include an answer to the question: What would these people's future be, should the "withdrawing" republic set aside funds for the creation of jobs for these specific people somewhere, and for housing, if they leave their homes behind in the republic? Hence the question about timing and the actual withdrawal process. On what time scale could this be resolved? And I have tackled just one question. There are also questions of defense, transportation and supply lines, communications, the economy, and so on. All this must be worked out by the mechanism. A draft of such a law on the mechanism for exercising this constitutional right will soon be submitted for discussion in Supreme Soviet committees—at first reading. Thus, the entire people will discuss this draft law. And I think that we will work it all out together. This is the only way! If anyone thinks that everything is very simple, he should go back to kindergarten.

Another note: "The CPSU Supreme Soviet and the Politburo pretend that nothing is happening...." No, the CPSU Central Committee does not pretend that nothing is happening. I am convinced: If this is a really revolutionary reworking of basic fundamentals—and without this there will be no perestroyka, we will not change, we will not reach the broad highway of the rebirth of socialism and all our peoples—then I must say that not everything will be easy. If people believe that the Central Committee would "act," rather than pretending that it sees nothing happening, only if it were to immediately—right after every step out of the ordinary and every new idea—bash someone on the head or grab him by the throat, as we in Russia say, if this is what is meant by action, we really won't get very far, that's for sure. We will nonetheless adhere to other methods—political democratic, the methods of glasnost. Civilized methods. Does this mean that today there is no law, no discipline, no responsibility? No. Democracy will not develop, it will actually choke unless it is accompanied by strengthening of discipline, conscientious discipline, the imposition of order, and so on. Here, I agree, is the evident weakness of our first perestroyka stage. The old mechanisms were swept away, and the new ones have not been properly switched on. The center bears responsibility for this.

I think that such adjustments must be made. The mechanism for the implementation of laws, the maintenance of order, and the comprehensive management in conditions of democracy must be worked out more swiftly, and must keep pace with life's processes. I perceive your critical remark as meaning that we are evidently somewhat unsuccessful and this entails losses.... This must be perceived, the full truth must be perceived and it is necessary to act without marking time. Someone said about the Lithuanian land that apparently people's feet are swollen through marking time. I think that this metaphor contains an important idea. It was present also during debates at the Second Congress of People's Deputies. In actual fact, now we must accelerate the positive processes. Could perestroyka have been accelerated 3 or 4 months ago? I am one of those who said: This would be premature. And why? Simply because at that time there was a lot we had not thought out. We had not thought out the question of ownership, we had not thought out the question of land, we had not thought out the taxation system. We still have no new law on the enterprise enriched through contemporary experience, we still say that we are handing power to the soviets but there is still no law on the status of soviets. And never mind about that time. Too much was still at the conception stage. It would have been rash to raise this slogan at that time. But today we already can and must raise the question of compressing, of reducing the transitional period which is accompanied by major ills and losses. We must accelerate the center's activity, we must accelerate work at local level, and push perestroyka forward more quickly. Not to move backwards but, by accelerating the changes, to more decisively move forward along the path of perestroyka. I am very grateful to you for this open dialogue. I think that it enriches us.

Gorbachev Meeting With Vilnius Public Reviewed

LD1201130790 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [First announcer] Today [11 January] the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, arrived on a 3-day visit to Lithuania. [passage omitted]

The first planned stop was in a square with the monument of Lenin standing in the center of it. Mikhail Gorbachev laid flowers at the foot of the monument, took off his hat and stood in a moment of silence. Afterwards he spoke with the people who had gathered in the square.

[Second announcer] A man's voice from the crowd addressed Mikhail Gorbachev in Russian calling him "Gospodin Gorbachev" and asked the quest: Why can't

you there in Moscow understand that we Lithuanians want independence? The question cropped up enexpectedly just after the leader of the Soviet Union had come to Lenin Square in Vilnius. If you call me "Gospodin" we shall not be able to carry on a discussion, was Mikhail Gorbachev's adamant objection to the form of address and he went on to explain that we all lived in a state for workers, farmers, and intellectuals and not gospodins, which just means "Mister" in English. With Mikhail Gorbachev closely surrounded by several ranks of people no time was lost to start a discussion on the most urgent problems. As is usual on such occasions Mikhail Gorbachev did most of the speaking though he did not fail to respond promptly to remarks coming from the crowd. The decisions by the 20th congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party will be still discussed at the plenum of the CPSU, apparently early in February. Meanwhile we must solve all the current problems, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said, and we must find a common view of our future. But, by no means, can we suspect one another. I reject all the occasional accusations of Lithuania being inclined to separatism, Mikhail Gorbachev said. But likewise Lithuania must not be suspicious of someone or other bearing her malice. It is hard to say which side prevailed among the speakers from the crowd. Whether it was supporters of Lithuania's independence or whether it was those who condemned aspirations of freedom. There were just a few Lithuanian tricolor flags fluttering in the square and a lonely red flag of the USSR. Neither Mikhail Gorbachev nor those who had gathered in the square had specially prepared for the meeting yet one poster read the following: "Greetings to the leader of the friendly country." Meanwhile the talk in the square went on and someone from the crowd shouted that Lithuanians wanted to decide their own fate themselves. Mikhail Gorbachev agreed that no one was going to decide Lithuania's fate without her behind her back. But the decision was to be made together and only together can we make all things clear, the general secretary kept repeating. If some forces succeeded in splitting us, he went on, we would find ourselves facing a great trtouble. Such a discord must never be allowed while all other things can be put straight, asserted the Soviet president. When someone invited the guest to come to the rally of the people of Lithuania to be held in Cathedral Square in Vilnius in the afternoon Mikhail Gorbachev's reply was rather diplomatic. He said that for him a rally had already started where he was standing in Lenin Square. Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with people there was pretty long. The general secretary said that as many as 60 million people in the Soviet Union lived away from the places they had been born in. He noted that some 20 percent of Lithuania's population was nonLithuanian. As Lithuania had been part of the Soviet Union for half a century already the Moscow guest appealed to the crowd: What would those ethnic minorities feel like if Lithuania decided to break away from the Soviet Union? Mikhail Gorbachev made references to the situation in Estonia and the Ukraine where the ethnic ratio is not al all similar to that in Lithuania. And he said that disintegration of the Soviet Union might entail tremendous losses and even bloodshed. The people in the square, however, assured Mikhail Gorbachev that bloodshed was excluded in Lithuania's case. Another exchange of opinions followed when the people in the crowd said the Soviet Union could never implement what was called perestroyka. And the guest from Moscow objected to that by saying that the unitarian state was sure to yield positions to a true federation. Perestroyka was going ahead in the Soviet Union and in the focus of it was a man who sought a better life yet not at the expense of the others. This is what Mikhail Gorbachev told the people who had gathered in Lenin Square in Vilnius to eyewitness the first visit of the Soviet Union's leader to Lithuania.

Gorbachev's Second Day in Lithuania

LD1301012990 Moscow TASS in English 0115 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius January 13 TASS—By TASS Special Correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Yuriy Sizov:

The new day started in the Soviet capital when Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov summed up at a briefing in Vilnius the results of the second day of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's stay in Lithuania.

How the perestroyka drive in the Soviet Union should be continued—in separate ways or together? This was the principal question during Mikhail Gorbachev's numerous meetings and conversations in Lithuania.

The split in the Lithuanian Communist Party and calls for Lithuania's secession from the Soviet federation have aggravated the political situation in Lithuania.

Gerasimov said that during conversations with workers of the Siauliai factory manufacturing TV sets, Gorbachev gave much attention to matters of national sovereignty.

"Freedom cannot be abstract," the Soviet president said. "It can exist hand-in-hand with the freedom of others, otherwise it is just empty verbiage. An all-union consensus for the renewal of society in every area has been reached in the USSR. But the change in the minds of people is particularly needed. It is necessary to get rid of old stereotypes," Gorbachev said.

He emphasised the community of goals of all union republics and warned against possible negative consequences of the secession from the federation.

Gorbachev holds that if the Lithuanian Communist Party splits from the Soviet Communist Party, it will not be represented in the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, at the plenums of the Central Committee and will be unable to contribute to the joint efforts towards the renewal of Soviet society. And Lithuanian

Communist chief Algirdas Brazauskas will be learning about processes in the Soviet Communist Party from newspaper reports.

Therefore the Soviet leader urged again the Lithuanian Communist Party not to split from the Soviet Communist Party, to strengthen cooperation with it.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman noted Algirdas Brazauskas's statement that the Lithuanian Communist Party will never support vulgar nationalism cultivated in the streets. Gorbachev expressed concern that this form of nationalism can transform into political nationalism.

Summing up the results of the briefing, Gerasimov said that the point of the matter in Lithuania is the preservation of the USSR, and this can only be achieved jointly, by strengthening the Soviet federation.

Gorbachev Address to Vilnius Workers Reported

LD1201205990 Moscow TASS in English 2030 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Vilnius January 12 TASS—By special TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Yuriy Sizov:

On the second day of his stay in Lithuania, Mikhail Gorbachev met residents of the Shyaulyay district situated north west of Vilnius. The Soviet president arrived there at mid-day, local time and visited the agricultural cooperative Bridai.

The collective farm headed by USSR people's deputy Aloizas Jiocas is among the most economically effective and prosperous in Lithuania. Up to 40 cetners of grain is harvested at the collective farm from each hectare of its land. Last year the collective farm received about two million roubles in profits.

During the meeting with the Soviet president, collective farmers spoke in detail about the economic reform implemented by their cooperative. Processes taking place in the Lithuanian Communist Party, problems of national sovereignty were discussed.

Gorbachev criticised statements at the meeting that Lithuania should secede from the Soviet Union. He said the secession from the USSR will not improve the republic's situation. If such a break takes place, not only Lithuania, but also Russia, Belorussia and all the union republics will be adversely affected. One should retain a sense of reality, Gorbachev emphasised.

On the same day Gorbachev visited the Shyaulyay factory manufacturing TV sets. There was also a frank and principled discussion of the situation in Lithuania.

A meeting of the republic's party functionaries will be held on Saturday. Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to speak.

Gorbachev Discusses 'Adventurism' With Workers

LD1301094190 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] "You have arranged good weather in Shyaulyay," said Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to people welcoming him before noon, when he left his plane at the military airfield near Shyaulyay. Mindaugas Stakvilevicius, leader of the Shyaulyay party committee, was the first to shake hands with Gorbachev, who remarked that yesterday he saw him at the meeting with representatives of intelligentsia in Vilnius.

At first Mikhail Gorbachev conversed with servicemen who complained about the Soviet army's status in Lithuania, which has recently substantially declined.

Traveling through Shyaulyay to the Bridai collective farm Mikhail Gorbachev stopped in several places and talked to people. One of the more original posters not seen in Vilnius invited the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to join the Lithuanian Communist Party.

In his conversations Mikhail Gorbachev was appealing to the working people. He said the stream of adventurism would be broken by the restraint of the working class. "Do not hand over your belief to the adventurers," urged the Soviet leader. He stressed that at the end the decisive word belongs to the people.

Having arrived at the Bridai collective farm Mikhail Gorbachev asked how long this settlement had been set up. It was replied that construction started 25 years ago. Mikhail Gorbachev turned to the leader of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Agirdas Brazauskas: "We want to change everything in a year's time."

Mikhail Gorbachev acquainted himself very thoroughly with the Bridai collective farm and visited the family of the collective farmer Jonas Klosas. Mikhail Gorbachev noted that the head of the family, machine operator Jonas Klosas is like his late father, who was a machine operator. After a dinner at the farm Mikhail Gorbachev went to a meeting at the Shyaulyay television factory.

A meeting at the Shyaulyay city party committee had to take place late in the evening. There are 2,500 communists in Shyaulyay and in Shyaulyay Rayon. All 12 of their delegates voted at the Lithuanian Communist Party congress for the party's independence.

Gorbachev Visits Bridai Farm, Speaks With Crowd

LD1401152190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 90

[From "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Presenter] Hello comrades. I do not think I need to explain why Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's trip to Lithuania is seen as the number one event in our country, and indeed why it is being followed with rapt attention throughout the world. We have given you

detailed reports on the 1st day of the visit. Now here are some reports received literally in the last few hours. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev arrived in Shyaulyay today, and he spent the morning at the Bridai collective farm.

[Correspondent A. Paulyus, over video of farm] In the morning, Comrade Gorbachev visited the Bridai farm. The farmers told Mikhail Sergeyevich with justified pride that thanks to joint efforts, this corner of the northwestern part of Lithuania had changed beyond recognition. All the land has been drained and brought under cultivation. The harvests have risen to 50 quintals per hectare. Farm machinery operators earn an average of about R350 [per month], while a dairymaid or pig-tender R450-480. All the collective farmers live in new settlements, in detached houses with modern amenities. The collective farmers told us they receive a lot of visitors, but they would be telling their children and grandchildren about today.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] When was this settlement modernized, how many years is it since they started.... [noises from people]. There we have a reply, Comrade Brazauskas, to how we should organize things. One settlement took 25 years to build, and it seems to me they haven't sorted everything out yet.

[Brazauskas] They build something new every year!

[Gorbachev] No, no. I'm drawing a comparison with what we are doing. Having gone about transforming and refurbishing our enormous house, the Soviet Union, we sometimes want to turn everything upside down in a year. You can turn everything upside down of course. You can create chaos in a year. You can do all that. But it takes 25 years to build a settlement. And such a country—enormous efforts are needed, of course, and above all a well-considered and thought- out approach.

[Brazauskas] A year for the state is like 1 second for a man—or 1 minute.

[Gorbachev, reading Banners] "Independence for Lithuania - respect and honor for you." Yes. "We back independent LCP [Lithuanian Communist Party]," "The farmer without property equals the countryside without a future," "Our aim is independence for Lithuania." It's alright, I've read the slogans, you can relax now! [laughter]

[Indistinct interjection]

[Gorbachev] Yes, I've read them all! You can come here and we'll talk! "Freedom to Lithuania." I've read that one, too. Thank you. That's all, that's all! You've accomplished your mission! You know, all my conversations gravitate around this main thing....

[Woman] [Sentence indistinct] You are so far the first, the very first person with whom we are taking these links forward, and we will continue to take them to their conclusion. We are closely linked, come what may. We won't cut off the railyway when we get to Soviet territory, and say that is as far as we go! We won't do that. It can all happen, it will proceed. But let what is ours be ours! We should live on amicable terms, but what's yours is yours, and what's ours is ours. [laughter and applause]

[Gorbachev] It is essential for you....

[Same woman interrupts] (?May) relations not be cut off! Mikhail, you are a saint to us, a saint. As a politician you are a man of gold. You are also an economist, and if you have Brazauskas next to you, things will get moving, they'll get moving, [words indistinct].

[Brazauskas] In the development of each state, and this applies paticularly to the Soviet Union, which is a very large and complex state, we cannot have such leaps. Each state and its component parts develop in definite discrete stages. We are currently living at what I would call the first stage, the first stage when statehood and relations betwen the republics are established. I mean specifically state questions, the area of statehood and the economic sphere. Now we have got to the political sphere. I would say that is stage number two. Can this stage come earlier? Yes. It seems to our people and to our communists that this is the right time for this stage. I would say where...[pauses] perhaps....

[Gorbachev interrupts] No, now I am setting the question. There is a question which is, so to speak, fundamental—without, outside the Soviet Union or with the Soviet Union?

[Man in crowd] Why are you putting the question that way?

[Gorbachev] Quiet, quiet, quiet!

[Brazauskas] One shouldn't do that.

[Gorbachev] No! No! No! You answer that question! And then we'll....[pauses] Lenin always used to begin: I was thinking of beginning tomorrow, but now I will start the conversation with you. I was thinking of saying when we meet at that joint plenum: In order to resolve any issues, many of them individual, and so forth, it is necessary first to come to grips with general issues. If we do not come to grips with them, we will keep coming up against these individual issues, and we will keep acquiring bruises, having painful experiences, clashing, coming together and breaking up, and that is not all. Things may even turn out as they have turned out before. Therefore, it is necessary to come to grips with the main issues.

[Man in crowd] Can I set another question?

[Gorbachev] No, no! First, I am setting the question. You travel round after me all the time and ask questions. I remember faces. If I spot you once, then it's once and for all. [words indistinct] Therefore the main question-....[pauses] Comrade Brazauskas here, who knows just as much as I do, how things are linked, and how crisscrossed everything is in our country today —everything,

both human and economic affairs, and cultural and scientific-technical affairs. Therefore, if one is to set out on the road of breaking away, and separation means breaking away, whether you like it or not...it is breaking away.

[voice from crowd] Why? Why? It's not.

[Gorbachev] Because you are leaving. The USSR Constitution will no longer say 14 republics—15 republics, when it is without Lithuania. There is no longer any place for you there if you leave the Soviet Union. [indistinct interruption from crowd] Just a moment! Just a moment! Well, one has to be consistent throughout. Why should we kid each other? We have reached such a point. When things come to that, then the question arises: What are the people to do in one republic and another? What are the 15 million Ukrainians, people in the Ukraine to do if the Soviet Ukraine also leaves? There would be 52 million people in such a country and 15 million of them Russians. So where are they to go? You don't want to leave Lithuania? [voices in crowd] No. Quite so. [Gorbachev's voice drowned by the crowd] And the same for me. Good. I will leave and you will have a talk here. I will give you so much homework now that you will not sleep at night, and it is worth not sleeping because of this. That is why I came here, leaving all affairs to one side. We must not muddle things in these main issues. The most important ones first, and then all the rest. I speak from this viewpoint. Comrade Brazauskas and I think so, and the leaders of the republic....

[man in crowd interrupts] But everywhere the newspapers are writing that Lithuania is a small country, that we are always living in debt to you.

[Gorbachev] Well, exercise your brains. Calculate coolly in your minds. When we begin to think and to resolve the problem of independence—either through exit from the union...[pauses] then these human, economic, scientifical-technical problems arise, whatever you say. Since there is a state, this means that there are spheres of power, jurisdiction, and there are...[pauses] you cannot get away from this. Do you understand this? You will not get away from that? Take the Poles. Take the Poles or the Czechs. They are independent states. [indistinct interjection from crowd] Do you think that contact with them is like the one with Lithuania? Absolutely not. Absolutely not so. The contacts inside our country are such that there is joint production to the extent of 30-40 percent. There is not even that in the European market. There is colossal division of labor. We all are connected immensely! As for immigration, I am not going into the reasons for why it worked out like that.

I am not talking about the reality today. When we think about the future and how we can improve things, after all we all want to live better. [?You, we] everyone, and the Russians, too, all the 120 peoples, all want to live better.

[Woman in crowd] Well, if one speaks about the Russian people, we are not offending them as some are saying and even writing. We are not chasing them out either. But when we count republic by republic the percentage of them there is, and when.... [words indistinct], What golden parts there are in Russia, the land is golden. Yes. Villages are shown with such windows. [as heard] We already are thinking: They want this and that here, (?but we do not say anything.) Sometimes I ask the Russians the question: Why do you want so much? We are offended. They say: Why are you Lithuanians offended? I say: That is the way it is. They say: We are upholding our own nationality. We do not forget we are Russians. So, how is one to construe that? You try not to forget you are Russian, but why have you forgotten your land? Your homeland? [indistinct interjections from crowd]

[Gorbachev] Why have 3 million Lithuanians forgotten their land and left?

[woman in crowd] When?

[Brazauskas] Not as many as 3 million.

[Gorbachev] Not as many as 3 million, then. Less. Why did they forget? [commotion in crowd—Gorbachev responds to indistinct remarks from crowd] Russians do no forget either. There you have it right.

[Man in crowd] Life compelled them.

[Gorbachev] Those people came here; there are (?many) of them. A Belorussian spoke yesterday at the works. He had been at the Minsk works and lived in Minsk.

[Woman in crowd] That is history now.

[Gorbachev] One minute, please. Here is history. This Belorussian came from Minsk, from a fine city, from a fine republic, but he came here. What then? Are you going to accuse him of betraying his Belorussian homeland? Why do you want to do this with Russians?

[Woman in crowd] No. I do not want to do that.

[Gorbachev] The Russians have heard this, that you are beginning to argue: Is it not time for you to clear off to Russia? [uproar in crowd]

[Woman in crowd] You have not understood us.

[Man in crowd] We have been living for centuries with the Russians. We never insult or offend each other. Never.

[Gorbachev] You must not approach things from such positions, in such a way that there appears....

[Woman in crowd, interrupting] Well, all right then. If that is so. Take our economy. (?We have had our fill) of politics.

[Gorbachev] Well, let us discuss it further. Seeing as economics interests you, 90 percent, 100 percent, and in the best case 70 percent, all power engineering, metal, oil, everything is given by Russia. You get it from there. Is it not worth receiving?

[Woman in crowd] But the prices are high.

[Gorbachev] What do you mean? They are the lowest in the world. You are gaining from it. Let him [Brazauskas] tell you.

[Brazauskas] One tonne of oil costs R74 at world prices, and in our country it costs R34. [words indistinct]

[Man in crowd] We must have contract prices, so that everything is delivered according to contract.

[Brazauskas] Yuriy Dmitriyevich [Maslyukov] is here somewhere and he says that oil costs something like R74 on the international market.

[Gorbachev] Dollars. Dollars.

[Brazauskas] Officially in freely convertible rubles. Seventy- four such rubles. We get it for R34 at the Mazeikiai works. Do you understand? At half price. If they set such a price for us, do you know how many millions it will cost us?

[Gorbachev] You are mistaken in getting into this. You are wrong. You think you will find the answer in secession. You will not find it. You will not find it. If you work for improvement of the cooperation, and interaction, and for each one to be more responsible for his work, then that is right.

[Man in crowd] Mikhail Sergeyevich, at the current stage it will help perestroyka; I think a free, independent Communist Party will help accelerate perestroyka in Lithuania. As a result of this, perestroyka in the entire Soviet Union will be accelerated.

[Gorbachev] So you would like there to be.... I am summing up now. So you would like there to be.... Or in that case you would like it to be so, as Cormade Brazauskas thinks: Lithuania in the Union, but full economic and political sovereignty....

[Voices in crowd] Yes, yes, yes!

[Gorbachev] Lithuania within the Union, but the Communist Party outside the CPSU. Is that it?

[Voices in crowd] Yes!

[gorbachev] Comrade Brazauskas says this, this means the problems of Lithuania and of the entire Union, and of Lithuania as a part of it, will be decided at the congresses.... I mean in the soviets, for you have deputies there. In the Supreme Soviet, for you have your deputies there. The Communist Party assembles and discusses policy and analyzes it for the future. A plenum assembles and discusses how things are proceeding with policy. The organs sit —the Presidium or the Politburo—and Brazauskas sits in Vilnius and learns from the newspaper what has taken place.

[Woman in crowd] No. [commotion in crowd]

[Man in crowd] [word indistinct] CPSU.

[Gorbachev, turning to man] Hold on a minute. He is not a member of the party, not a member of the Central Committee, not a member of the leadership. [people in the crowd shout indistinct phrases out all at once] So this is how things are. So this is how things are.

[Man in crowd] He will not be subject to Article 6 of the Union Constitution.

[Gorbachev] You ask him how he will feel in those conditions.

[Voices from crowd] Fine. Fine. [passage indistinct, many people talking all at once]

[Gorbachev] I see where...Sajudis has posted its forces (?all around). Be quiet! Be quiet! I am ready to talk with Sajudis. I am meeting with them at the Supreme Soviet and am conducting discussion with them. I do not regard them as leprous. There are some in Sajudis who would like to explode things, to whip matters up. But in principle it is a movement which embraces large circles, public circles of Lithuania. Here there are also other representatives of other nationalities. I view this realistically; it's alright, so long as Sajudis wants to seek how to advance, improve, and add extra dynamism to perestroyka, to benefit the country and to benefit interethnic relations. Where Sajudis attempts to explode things, to bring people into conflict, it will receive from me what it deserves. [commotion in crowd] Good-bye. [end recording]

Conversation With Family

LD1401154590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Jan 90

[D. Biryukov Video report on Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the Bridai Collective Farm in Siauliai on 12 January; from "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [video shows Gorbachev holding little boy by the hand in a nursery school. Other children start to dance] [begin recording] [Gorbachev, talking to small boy] Will you and I dance together or sing something? Come on then. [end recording]

[Biryukov] This meeting at the collective farm nursery hardly needs commentary. I will merely add that the collective farm pays a considerable sum of several hundred rubles per year from social funds for the care of every child. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa are standing by the exit from the nursey school]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] May you grow up robust and strong, and may you behave yourselves for your mommies, and your teachers as well.

[Children, in unison] Goodbye, thank you.

[Gorbachev] Goodbye.

[Children] Goodbye. [video cuts to Gorbachev with two older people]

[Gorbachev] Good day to you.

[Unidentified old man] Good day your majesty.

[Old people] Good day [end recording]

[Biryukov] This is the home where collective farm veterans live. It opened last year. [video shows facilities at old people's home] But this is not a hospice. Here everything has been conceived and arranged in such a way that people find it comfortable to live here. The home has been divided into small separate apartments, and the collective farm pays for the care of the people in them. You will agree that this goes down well for the budget of the retirees. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa saying goodbye to old people and leaving]

At the first meeting at the Bridai collective farm, Mikhail Sergeyevich mentioned that the profession of machine-operator is very well-known to him. And how is a family of machine-operators faring at this collective farm today? This was the topic of the conversation at the Klusas' home. There are five rooms for five people. Not bad at all. The collective farm paid a considerable part of the cost of building the house and for the construction materials, which were far from from cheap. Are there problems? Of course, there are. But, generally, as they say, they have nothing to complain about. [video shows Gorbachev arriving outside a house and being welcomed into the living room, along with Raisa, Medvedev, Brazauskas and the collective farm chairman; they are seated around a coffee table]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] And you are still working?

[Klusa] Yes, I am working for the time being. I retired a long time ago—it's been years now. [sentence indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Yes, but I meant as a machine operator.

[Klusa] Yes, I worked 30 years as a machine operator.

[Gorbachev] Thirty years?

[Klusa] Yes.

[Gorbachev] I remember my father worked for 42 years.

[Farm chairman] We also have some people who have worked for 40 years—and who worked 40 years on a tractor with caterpillar tracks only.

[Gorbachev] There can be no collective farm without machine operators. [farm chairman] Yes, they are the main force, the main force.

[Gorbachev] They know the equipment but they all are also agronomists. When they themselves manage things, they know better than the agronomists what to do. [indistinct remarks by farm chairman in background] What wage did you have here last year per month? Including all the bonuses? What did you bring home to the wife? [laughter]

[Klusa] On average R280.

[Gorbachev] Well, I'll tell you that the collective farm chairman is managing things well. He is not spoiling you. But I understand that, seeing that the collective farm is developing and things are still being built; Just look and you see that a palace of culture is being built—It is of course all for the common cause.

[Klusa] Our chairman is like the father of everything. He understands things well.

[Medvedev] Do you have your own subsidiary holding?

[Klusa] We do.

[Gorbachev] Here, or somewhere else?

[Klusa] Here, nearby.

[Gorbachev] What do you have?

[Klusa] A cow, a steer, four pigs....

[Gorbachev] That is good. And you even sell something?

[Mrs Klusa] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Both meat and milk?

[Mrs Klusa] Yes.

[Medvedev] How much meat have you sold?

[Klusa] We sell two pigs every year and a steer.

[Gorbachev] That means 200 kilograms, at a minimum. Maybe even more—250 kilograms.

[(?Brazauskas)] A steer means 450 kilograms.

[Gorbachev] A steer weighs that, but I was talking about a pig.

[Klusa] We sell 600 kilograms.

[Mrs Klusa] Six hundred and fifty kilograms.

[Medvedev] How much do you leave for yourselves out of what you produce?

[Gorbachev] Two pigs—and you have chickens.

[Klusa] And there is plenty of milk left over.

[Gorbachev] So, all is well? And something is left over?

[Mrs Klusa] Yes, there is some left over. And we sell it.

[Gorbachev] Do you grow potatoes yourselves? You probably also sell some at the market?

[Mrs Klusa] No, not potatoes, only vegetables and tomatoes.

[Medvedev] Do you sell or consume more of the meat which you produce?

[Mrs Klusa] We sell more.

[Medvedev] So you sell more then?

[Gorbachev] They sell more—a steer and two pigs.

[Mrs Klusa] We sell more. Yes, we sell more.

[Brazauskas] About 800 kilograms in live weight.

[Gorbachev] Approximately how much milk do you sell?

[response indistinct]

[Gorbachev] About two tonnes? Two tonnes? I see. Two tonnes

[Farm chairman] We have some who sell about five or six tonnes. They get (?two tonnes) of milk per cow.

[Gorbachev] Does the collective farm provide the foodstuffs?

[Farm chairman] Yes, fully.

[Gorbachev] How much do the peasants give to the collective farm in terms of milk and meat?

[Farm chairman] Milk and meat?

[Gorbachev] In percentage.

[Farm chairman] 23 percent of milk—23 percent.

[Brazauskas] That's not much. We have collective farms where the figure is just about 50 percent.

[Medvedev] You do not need to buy meat at all? Do you provide for all your needs in meat?

[Klusa] Well, sometimes one has to buy some fresh meat.

[Gorbachev] One has to top up with fresh meat. You have to fill in the gaps. And is there a market here?

[Voices] There is one in Siauliai.

[Gorbachev] There is a market in Siauliai.

[Unidentified speaker] Seven kilometers from here.

[Gorbachev] How are the prices there? We will ask the children. They should know more about it, as they go into town. How much is meat and milk there? [video shows three young people]

[Eldest girl] We do not buy anything over the counter there. [laughter]

[Gorbachev, laughing, to Medvedev] Vadim Andreyevich, there's the answer for you. You have mom and dad's? [latter remark to children]

[Medvedev] But perhaps they buy it in the shops?

[Raisa Gorbacheva] No, Vadim Andreyevich. Just look, Mikhail Sergeyevich! When our moms and dads were alive, and they lived in the countryside, they were always sending us things.

[Gorbachev] And whatever post we occupied....

[Raisa Gorbacheva, interrupting] It was just the same. Chickens, they sent us everything fresh, they sent us fresh pork....

[Brazauskas, interrupting] That's the way with parents in the countryside. This happens everywhere across the country. Especially when they are productive.

[Gorbachev] I was first secretary of the party kray committee [in Stavropol] and my mother and father still send us things. That was always pleasant for us.

[Medvedev] But there probably are also opportunities to buy meat in shops?

[Child] Yes, there are.

[Gorbachev, to hosts] How are you keeping?

[Mrs Klusa] Fine, thanks. Not so bad.

[Gorbachev] Of course, the work of machine operators takes a lot out of a person.

[Mrs Klusa] He has lots of things wrong with him now. He does—only he will not say it.

[Gorbachev] He does not admit it.

[Mrs Kluso] No, he doesn't. He doesn't.

[Gorbachev] Oh, he's a true country person. He bears up always. He bears up to it. Do you know what? (video shows Gorbachev addressing Klusa) You look like my father. Raisa Maksimovna will confirm that.

[Raisa Gorbacheva] The nose, the eyes.

[Gorbachev] The nose, the eyes. If I was to show you now, then....

[Mrs Klusa] They're alike?

[Gorbachev] Much alike—and the shape of the face. Yes. Well then, we wish you good health, and the same to the children. Much still lies ahead for them—much still lies ahead for them. May they keep up the good work, and we wish them, too, all the best in this home, so that, as they say, it is always warm under this roof and that above the roof....

Well, they used to wish for there to be smoke above the roof, but now there isn't any.

No, there is still a puff of smoke. [end recording] [video shows Gorbachev and the others leaving the house and heading for the limousine]

Gorbachev Continues Talks With Working People

PM1501145190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under general headline: "Solving Our Common Problems Together"]

[Text] Vilnius, 12 Jan—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who arrived here yesterday, is continuing his meetings with the Lithuanian working people. All the events of the first strenuous day and the working visits to the fraternal republic's working people have been covered in detail by television and radio broadcasts. This morning's newspapers are commenting extensively on the content of the Soviet leader's conversations in the city's streets, at a plant club, and at the Press House. The youth newspaper LIYETUVOS RITAS highlighted the following words: "Many political observers consider M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania as one of the most important events of his entire 1,767 days at the helm of the CPSU."

The 2d day was entirely given over to meetings with working people in Shyauliyay, a large industrial and cultural center in the republic a little over 200 km from the capital. Hardly had M.S. Gorbachev arrived in the suburbs than he was surrounded by a throng of Shyauliyay inhabitants. Approaching one group he drew attention to the placards greeting him.

Let us examine, he said, the origin of such extraordinary "greetings": Some call for "occupying forces" to be withdrawn from the republic, others depict a coffin with the inscription "We shall bury the CPSU." Quite a few examples of both kinds can be found—and not only here. But let us discuss it. Is there a normal attitude toward the Soviet Army's soldiers and toward the Communist Party among the working people?

Voices: There is, Mikhail Sergeyevich. We do not support these oddballs.

M.S. Gorbachev: That's the important thing, comrades, because the position of the working people, the peasants, the intelligentsia, and the workers will largely determine the situation in the republic, which has become gravely complicated recently. But all these troublemakers who have taken up their brushes to paint slogans on fences and who are using the television screen and the newspapers are nothing but scum which will be dispersed by the restraint and cooperation of people of all nationalities.

Voice: We are pretty tired of combating this scum and of listening to their offensive words. The most dreadful thing is that even USSR People's Deputies presume to insult the Russian people and the Soviet Army in their comments in the press.

M.S. Gorbachev: In that connection I want to develop a point that I made yesterday. First: As a result of perestroyka and the revival of Lithuania, Lithuanians, having preserved the culture of their language, must of course feel confident on their own land. Otherwise, if they feel bad here it will be bad for all of you. Therefore do not succumb to the appeals of those who are trying to weaken the peoples' unity and bring some into conflict with others. We did not begin perestroyka for that.

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich, we have always lived in peace here. Just think how many years we have lived together here and no one ever made a point about the language that people were speaking; the important thing was that everyone worked as best he could. Now that counts for nothing. And isn't that the path along which democracy in our Lithuania should develop? Wasn't that the kind of democracy we sought when we embarked on perestroyka, a democracy without frameworks and borders. We respect the Lithuanian soil even though our forefathers are lying far away; we respect the industrious Lithuanian peasants. But why should our respect for the Lithuanian soil now count for nothing here?

M.S. Gorbachev: It seems to me that those who pursue such a policy in Lithuania today have no right to claim to be the head of any party, soviet, or economic organizations here.

People immediately joined in the conversation on this acute and, to be honest, alarming theme. Troubled voices were heard. Women had tears in their eyes. One of them, V.G. Morkovkina, a worker at the aircraft repair plant, stated that she would flee "this nightmare" tomorrow if they offered her housing in a city in the Russian Federation.

Several times more the car stopped in the street and everywhere the mood of the people was firm: They wanted their guest to stay as long as possible. They inquired about the news from Moscow, they asked how soon the Supreme Soviet would finalize the main laws of perestroyka. But one way or another the conversation returned to the main theme—the complex situation in the republic.

The route led next into a suburb of Shyaulyay where workers of the "Briday" collective farm [kolkhoz] were expecting Mikhail Sergeyevich. This farm is among the most prosperous. But the main theme of the country dweller's conversation with their visitors wasn't economic well-being.

M.S. Gorbachev: We all want things to improve for everyone. If we begin to split the land up and leave things to fate [khodit po sudbam] no good will come of it.

Voice: We do not bear the Russians grudges, as some people are saying and writing, and we don't intend to force anyone out. But the only thing we cannot understand is how the Russians can calmly contemplate television pictures of Russian villages being deserted and why their hearts do not bleed for their abandoned native land.

M.S. Gorbachev: But why did the Lithuanians also leave, 50 years ago, and, using your words, forget their native land?

Voices: Times were difficult then, they didn't want to go.

M.S. Gorbachev: There you have it. Life made them. Just yesterday a Belorussian spoke at a plant; he used to

work in Minsk, he used to live in a beautiful republic, would you accuse him of betraying his motherland, too?

Voices: No, no—no way.

M.S. Gorbachev: Therefore you shouldn't use words which the representatives of other nationalities could interpret as a call to leave the republic.

Voice: That is true, but agriculture in Russia should be developed to the same level, too. Then all the problems will be resolved.

M.S. Gorbachev: Nevertheless, it seems that a syndrome of superiority to others is developing among you. This must be prevented, because if we begin comparing Russian territories then I am ready right now to compare the examples of Stavropol Kray and Krasnodar Kray.

Voice: We do not have lands like that here, Mikhail Sergeyevich. The land there is golden.

M.S. Gorbachev: You are wasting your time thinking of finding a way out of the situation by breaking with us—on the contrary, the path lies through improving collaboration so that everyone is more responsible for his own work and so that each people realizes its sovereignty and economic independence. Yes, thrice yes. But not at the price of breaking up everything that has been built up over decades. And if that happens Lithuania won't be the only one to suffer. If you think I am trying to intimidate Lithuania, you are wrong. Russia will suffer, Belorussia will suffer, everyone will suffer. Even if some people in Russia are saying now that we in Russia will soon become a prosperous state, in 3-4 years, if we split from the USSR, that is an exaggeration on the Russians' part, as it is on yours.

Voice: Here is a question. There is talk about economic autonomy as of 1 January, but there's no sign of it yet.

A. Brazauskas: Such things don't come about in two weeks.

M.S. Gorbachev: By the way, do you know how long it took to build this settlement?

Voices: It took 25-30 years.

M.S. Gorbachev: And you want complete economic autonomy to come about in just 2 weeks and to restructure a 300-million strong Soviet Union into the bargain?

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich, I think that a free and independent communist party will speed up perestroyka in Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

M.S. Gorbachev: So the logic here is: Lithuania inside the Union but a communist party outside the CPSU?

Voices. Yes, yes.

M.S. Gorbachev: Then all the problems of Lithuania as part of the Union will be resolved at congresses of soviets, at the Union's Supreme Soviet. But just think: A CPSU congress meets, it discusses policy for the whole country, it forecasts its development, what adjustments to make to that policy—but that doesn't apply to you... Incidentally, I shall be speaking tomorrow about the innovations which are planned to be introduced into the CPSU.

M.S. Gorbachev spent several hours as a guest of the kolkhoz members. Frank and heartfelt conversations took place in the machine shop and at the home of machine operator Y. Klusas. He was warmly greeted by staff at a kindergarten and a home for the elderly. Animated conversations ensued on the settlement's streets, too.

In the afternoon, M.S. Gorbachev visited a television equipment plant—the pride of the inhabitants of industrial Shyaulyay.

Talks With Collective Farmers

LD1201154990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Today is the 2d day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania. Here is a report from our special correspondents Ludmila Semina and Aleksandr Ruvinskiy.

[Semina] His program, which is no less intensive than yesterday's, has taken Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the members of the delegation to the town of Shyaulyay, the center of a major industrial and agricultural region of Lithuania in the northern part of the republic. It is about 200 km from Vilnius. Shyaulyay is Lithuania's fourth largest town.

[Ruvinskiy] After a warm meeting at the airport, the guests from Moscow were acquainted with the town and then Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was expected at Bridai Collective Farm. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Sergeyevich was met in the collective farm's equipment depot, and it was from here that he began getting to know the collective farm. Mikhail Sergeyevich and the other guests are met by Aloizas Jocas, chairman of the collective farm. He is a USSR people's deputy, a merited agricultural worker of the republic.

Here, near the engineering workshops, there are many homemade placards and slogans. I will cite just a few of them: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, why have you come to frighten us and not understand us?" "Independence for Lithuania, honor and respect to you." "We favor an independent Lithuanian Communist Party." This is the nature of the slogans.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] When did this settlement revive, how many years ago? When they began to build it.

[Unidentified man] They began to build...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] There you are, Comrade Brazauskas, that is the reply as to how long we should

spend doing things. There you have it. In 25 years, one settlement has been created. Moreover, not everything has yet been resolved. But at times we, who have undertaken the transformation and renewal of our vast home, the USSR...

[Unidentified man, interrupting] One year.

[Gorbachev] In 1 year, of course, one can turn it upside down. Chaos can be created in 1 year, that is quite possible, but the construction of the settlement has been under way for 25 years, and in such a country, of course, vast efforts are needed. The main thing needed is a well-considered approach.

"Independence for Lithuania, honor and respect to you." So, we favor an independent Lithuanian Communist Party. Agriculture without ownership [words indistinct] in the future. "Our aim is the independence of Lithuania." That is all. I have read the slogans, take a rest. [laughter, indistinct shouts from crowd] I have read them all. You can come here and we will have a chat. Freedom for Lithuania—I have read that, too. Thank you. That is all. The task has been fulfilled. [laughter]

You know, all of my conversations are about this, which is the main thing because, in general, perhaps, this has hastened my arrival. And you know why; we are not going to talk about that on the street. All the same, however, I would like to look around a bit . [end recording]

Further on Gorbachev Address to Rural Aktiv

PM1401015590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Preserving Living Ties. M.S. Gorbachev's Encounters With Rural Workers"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, visited the "Bridai" collective farm [kolkhoz] in Shyaulyayskiy Rayon 12 January. The topic of conversation was not just the kolkhoz members' production concerns, but also their living and leisure conditions. Consolidation of the republic's healthy forces, normalization of interethnic relations, the complexities of the political situation in the republic—these topics defined the tenor of the meeting with the kolkhoz and rayon party and economic aktiv. It took place in the hall where kolkhoz meetings are normally held.

The meeting was addressed by M.S. Gorbachev.

All the comrades who, so to speak, represent Moscow here are glad of this meeting and all the other meetings which have been held during the past few days. Apart from the very important factor of being able to communicate with people, which for me, personally, is invaluable, I would like to note that a frank and very keen debate is under way. Sometimes the discussion gets heated in tone and color, and sometimes several people try to speak at once. However, this is not stopping us from debating and comparing viewpoints on the most crucial issues which are worrying us all, and I will go further and say they are worrying the whole country and the whole party. In this way, as one of the correspondents noted recently, Lithuania has become one of the places in the world on which universal interest is focused.

When we met after the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, and subsequently after the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, with the comrades who represent the two communist movements which have emerged in the republic, I remarked that—Comrade Brazauskas will remember it—it is very important for us to understand everything that is taking place, everything that we are discussing, so as to avoid mistakes when we are making our choices, when we are choosing the steps by which we will advance, when we decide whether we go together or separately. And that we will meet again and try to sort things out.

And now I have come to Lithuania. It is very important that we view these meetings not just from "the Lithuanian angle," or, should I add so that comrades here do not take exception immediately, from the "Stavropol angle," or from the Uzbek viewpoint, for instance. Yes, comrades, this is a crucial time for the fate of our peoples, and we must not lose the ground we stand on, we must not disrupt existing ties and the entire blood-supply system and the central nervous system. Life demands that we handle this system with great caution.

This is why there was such a reaction to the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress, which was convened as a congress within the framework of the CPSU Program and Statutes and ended by withdrawing from it and breaking with it. True, we are told, it is not a withdrawal and not a break. What then is your interpretation, Comrade Brazauskas, of the statement that as from 21 December the CPSU Program and Statutes no longer apply in any of the primary party organizations? How can that be? As they say in the Ukraine: "If Danila is dead, he is dead, and it does not matter what killed him."

All this has evoked serious concern in our country: If we, having embarked on this colossal endeavor, start quibbling about relations—and, incidentally, some people are trying to draw us into a party debate, so as to meanwhile take control of society—we will become pawns in an unscrupulous game. It is necessary to firmly proceed along the chosen path. Lack of principles in policy causes the entire movement, the people involved in it, and the whole of society to totter. It is necessary to take account of the special importance of such a political phenomenon as the CPSU and its responsibility for the state of affairs in the country at such a crucial stage.

If we disrupt the unity of the CPSU in any way whatsoever, for instance by transforming it into some kind of debating society—as a result of which it will lose its inner vigor and ability to generate ideas, unite society, and integrate and consolidate it—perestroyka will not take

place. As long as people are debating, parties will continue emerging, more and more of them. But I tell you, it will no longer be perestroyka. Or rather—not this perestroyka, not this choice, not this road. Only people who want to switch direction and change banners and slogans are interested in the disorganization and disintegration both of society and political movements.

Therefore I am asking you: What is to come next, what will follow these decisions and these events? The first thing that has come out of this in Lithuania is that two communist currents have emerged. Now they are already beginning to "fight" with each other. They are fighting for supporters, they are already suspicious, distrustful of each other; party organizations are being forced to make a decision as to whom they should follow. If today one side has the edge, that is the one we will follow. But what will happen tomorrow if the situation changes? I can see right here among you that many people are engaging in discussions of this kind.

All right, people are saying, we will remain within the Soviet Union, but give us an autonomous party. Dear friends, this is not the sort of talk we should be engaging in. We must realize and get to understand what we all need in this respect. What sort of position are you putting Comrade Brazauskas in? He is a professional, he is aware, just as I am, of all the interconnections within the Union, and what it means to begin to disrupt them today, and what this will lead to. It would be graver than the cultural revolution. It would be like removing individual sections from a bridge. It is clear to everyone what would happen to such a bridge. Especially if elements of load-bearing structures were pulled out.

I and Comrade Brazauskas understand this. We understand that our Union must be reinterpreted and fundamentally restructured. Without a fundamental restructuring of our multinational state we will achieve nothing. We now see and understand how the Stalinist administrative-edict system held the whole of society in a vice-like grip, preventing it from developing and utilizing the real potential.

The same applies to the federation of republics, that is, the present status of our multinational state, which also as yet does not provide the necessary oxygen, no real opportunities for progress, competition, and action. Reinterpretation of the federation and its function—this is our task today. At a meeting yesterday certain professors criticized our federation. However, we have never lived in the conditions of this federation! So what we are all criticizing today is not the federation but the unitary system which characterized our multinational state. We must without fail discard this unitary system. This means that we must translate into reality the sovereignty which has always been part of our constitutions through the political competence of the republics, With a view to leaving only strategic questions under the jurisdiction of the Union. Everything else is to be decided by the republics themselves. This is the goal toward which we must proceed—preserving unity, and making use of the pooled efforts and potentials which already exist in practice as a result of decades of joint creative labor.

Any other solution will hit people above all, and undermine the economy and ties. It will act as an enormous brake—worse still, it will be a reversal. Euphoria is good for the spirit. But policy needs reflection, in-depth analysis of realities, and the skill to build a future out of them. Politics always deals with realities, it is always the art of the possible. Otherwise people will curse the political leadership, be it the leadership of the country or the republic. I will never, at any price, under any pressure, change my view of this. At the same time I am ready to explore the most varied facets of federation, and the most far-reaching solutions. What we need is real autonomy for the union republic communist parties. Today the Statutes do not even contain a special section on republic organizations. They are lumped together with oblast and kray party organizations. I believe that times have changed. The times have raised the question of introducing a separate section in the Statutes devoted to republic communist parties and their powers.

Voice: Absolutely.

M.S. Gorbachev: This will immediately confront us with many questions, questions as to what is decided by the Communist Party, how it organizes its cadre and structural policy, how it is to be represented in the CPSU leadership. It is true that in speaking about this, I am anticipating somewhat. At first the question will be raised at the plenum, then it will be submitted to the congress, so that here too we will decide everything together. So what do you want to do—break away or unite? To consolidate developing responsibility and expanding rights, and thus enhance the responsibility of all components via political processes? This is the "homework" about which I spoke yesterday with a young person. After all, you are experienced people, you can apply both your store of knowledge and experience of life. You can count on me in everything that is connected with perestroyka, everything that works toward the achievement of our goal, everything that consolidates and unites our society at this crucial stage. On the other hand, destructive actions, actions aimed at disintegration, and other similar processes serve to harm and undermine the very foundations of perestroyka. I am associated with the former, and I will stay with it to the end; the latter I will combat whatever the cost. Now I have told you everything. After all, I am not a man who has come to pour fuel onto the flames.

People in the city have bombarded me with slogans and "difficult" questions. In general, this does not bother me; it is useful to conduct a dialogue with any audience. Incidentally, it is even in keeping with what Lenin advocated when he said that it is necessary to know your opponent's viewpoint. Because in it, in the most rigid form your own weaknesses are formulated, crystallized, and reflected. This sharpens the reasoning, stimulates thought, and prompts a deeper elaboration of specific questions. Yesterday a comrade in Vilnius kept asking

me about my view of the multiparty system. Later they told me that he is a social democrat. In all matters it is necessary to proceed from life. What, according to my opinion, are the distinguishing features of the meaning of life at the current stage? They consist of the fact that we are beginning to move away from rallies and focus on the essence of real life. Workers and peasants themselves do not permit us to disregard reality, to take refuge in hollow schemes. As for the multiparty system, I will simply say: Have we not all, during our mature political life, been aware and seen with our own eyes how the most brutal dictatorships have been formed and have flourished in the presence of 10 and even 20 parties? No, it is the regime which decides how people live and how they breathe.

And we have now launched a process of democratization, we are implementing a political reform which puts into the forefront the decisive figure of this political process—the working man, be he a worker, or a peasant, or a member of the intelligentsia. This is precisely what is needed. This creates the framework and the preconditions for a quite different democratic movement. Take a look at how many different opinions exist while there is only one party —the CPSU. How much pluralism there is, how much democracy in the presence of only one party, how many public movements there are, including Sajudis, a movement which expressed society's concern. I welcome this. However, it is another question that in this movement, just as in other movements, extremes have appeared and stances have been adopted which sow discord and spread poison. We can and will sort out what is what.

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich, it would be interesting to hear your impressions of the kolkhoz?

M.S. Gorbachev: They were pleasurable minutes. I am and remain a man of the countryside; this is where my life began, where I gained my first experience. I have just met the machine operators at the kolkhoz workshop, and immediately I recalled how my working life began. My father also came from the countryside, he was a front-line soldier during the war, he crossed the Dnepr.

Question from V. Kardashyus, delegate of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress: The Communist Party of Lithuania has been created, there is no way back. In your opinion, what can be done so that we can continue to live in friendship as in the past, but in new conditions now? Who do you think split from whom in our republic? The 20 percent who favor a Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform, or the 80 percent who took the side of the Lithuanian Communist Party (the independent Communist Party of Lithuania)? I believe that it was, nonetheless, those who are opposed to the autonomy of Lithuanian Communists who effected the split.

M.S. Gorbachev: That is your viewpoint. I don't share it. I have spoken about this time and again. If you are honest and responsible toward yourself, yesterday's meeting added no arguments to defend this choice. It convinced me even more that it was necessary for us to come here and seek a solution. It convinced me that all this has happened in a mood, in a state of some kind of euphoria, rather than as the result of well-considered analysis. Assume responsibility for the fate of the people. After all, analysis, rather than mere playing with and exploiting national sentiment, shows that if we are to be responsible to our people and others we should now, while developing the processes of renewal—including the party and the federation—stand together, collaborate, and advance hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder. There are, of course, daredevils in politics. they think that we will suffer 5-10 years and then everything will be normal. They say: Luxembourg exists, after all; Finland exists. Do you think these are all arguments? This bespeaks such a provincialism in politics and also in theory that it makes me sad. One should not adapt oneself to moods and trends. The political vanguard should formulate a policy which provides a clear path, not a "we shall see what we shall see" formula. We need to get rid of the syndrome of moods. If you try to gain authority by breaking with the Union and the CPSU, you are politically done for. Thank you for your attention. (Applause)

The following took part in the meeting: V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of thr CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA.

Gorbachev Addresses Television Plant Workers

PM1401011590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 First Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Responsibility Is Basis of Correct Decisions. M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With Shyaulyay Workers"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev met with representatives of the labor collective at the "Tauras" Television Plant in Shyaulyay on the evening of 12 January. The meeting was opened by plant director R. Virbitskas. Speeches were then made by A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; M. Burokyavichyus, secretary of Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee (on the CPSU platform) Interim Bureau; V. Safonov, metal and installation worker; N. Luchik, design engineer; A. Ivashkyavichyus, secretary of the plant party committee; A. Pushkarev, engineer and technologist; metalworker Z. Karpavichyus; S. Ulchinas, chairman of the labor collective council; E. Petrauskas, radio equipment tuner; L. Yankauskas, general director of the "Banga" Production Association; M. Stakvilyavichyus, secretary of Shyaulyay Lithuanian Communist Party City Committee [gorkom]; V. Bakulin, secretary of the interim Shyaulyay Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform)

Gorkom; and B. Kurkletis, engineer at the "Banga" Institute. A dialogue on a wide range of problems connected not only with the position in Lithuania but with subjects going far beyond the framework of the republic continued for more than 2 hours. The affairs of the entire country, the party's present and future, and the Soviet federation were keenly discussed.

M.S. Gorbachev spoke at the meeting.

I have said so much in these 2 days that it seems hard to add anything to it. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that I am someone who adheres to dialectic thinking and sees life in movement and change and, at the same time, from the standpoint of principles; I am not someone who changes his views like gloves. That is why repetition is inevitable. Because yesterday, today, and tomorrow I am the person who appears before you during these years and days. It can only be a question of deepening the quest for answers to the questions and problems emerging in the development of our state—a complex, interesting, and restless society requiring particular attention, a great breadth of views, flexibility of thinking, and supreme responsibility. As the ancient Greeks said, you cannot jump into the same river twice. Everything is in flux, everything changes. We need to be open so as to perceive everything that is happening and, on this basis, augment our knowledge and think about the future while supporting and stimulating in every possible way everything that is progressive and of us to people, everything that ennobles their lives, makes them people with a capital "P," and elevates them. At the same time, we must restrain those trends which are destructive and deform society. I needed this speech in order to turn to those issues which I intend to cover.

I can see that the auditorium is of one mind [zaryazhen odnoznachno], and that is its great shortcoming. Since it is no longer discussing but declaring. If someone with differing views appeared—he may have spoken unsuccessfully or not even be ready to present serious arguments—people immediately stamp their feet, slow-hand-clap, or shout him down. This is a shortcoming of this audience—consider my attitude, it is my working style: Talking straight to people. I came so that we could think together. I do not want to impose my views, although I will be proposing them. But I am listening to what troubles you.

I see everything that is the focus of life and heated emotions as a very important signal that here on Lithuanian soil profound processes are under way whereby our entire life in the past few decades is essentially being reanalyzed. How have we been living, where have we gotten to? Have our ideals coincided with our plans and expectations or is this far from being the case? We cannot deny our great progress. Here, too, I could concoct a number of figures, facts, and arguments about what Lithuania was like 40 years ago and what it is like today. That is why highfaluting epithets such as "penurious" and so forth are aimed at those with weak nerves, and are a play on ignorance. There has been a lot of this sort of thing. The feelings raised by rallies do not leave us, yet it is time that they did. Why exactly? Because a policy already exists and practical work is being done to implement that policy. It will take intelligence, thought, and questing. But these are things that we all lack for the time being. I do not divorce myself from the good things that have happened and are happening in the country over the past few years, nor do I divorce myself from what has not yet happened, from what is holding us up. So I see everything not from the heights of my job and position but in the context of our common responsibility.

Thus, such great concepts as "freedom," "independence," and "autonomy" have been brought into play. Sometimes people no longer consider what they mean. They simply bandy the words freedom, independence, and autonomy about! It's become a kind of test: Are you for or against freedom? Are you for or against autonomy? Are you for or against independence? If you are, you're one of us. If you start thinking about it, we'll have to see if you're one of us or not. So people want to impose notorious eras on us. We are leaving those times behind, but by manipulating these great and sacred concepts, we could find ourselves back there. "Yes or no, yes or no"—that's all there is to it. That will take us to where we were before, it won't take us forward. We could even be pushed back with great losses.

Who in the country would say that they are against freedom? Only someone abnormal. Who would say that the term "independence" with reference to a state, people, or nation is erroneous or seditious? Nobody, naturally. But after slogans are proclaimed, the practical implementation of them begins. Yet how do we transpose these supremely important slogans into a policy and make them part of life itself—life which is starting to change in accordance with them? We do not need to simplify anything in this area. We sometimes argue in the following way: Just think, so-and-so said such-and-such at the rally. He didn't have anything in mind, he was just speaking out. That seems to be fashionable nowadays, otherwise people won't follow you. My position obliges me not to play to such a gallery—however clamorous it may be—but to reason things out. Although reasoning things out is in general a duty for everyone.

Reasoning brings me to the following point. Certainly, there is the concept of freedom—but whose freedom, freedom from whom, and how is it to be exercised, living and working in a collective, in a city, in the republic, in the Union, in the world? Nothing will happen without an understanding of these linkages, without feeling oneself to be an organic part of all of this. Nothing occurs in isolation, under wraps in an artificial environment. Thus one person's freedom becomes many people's freedom, and we must learn to take this into consideration. There is no other choice. We must find ways to implement a particular idea within the framework of concrete life and concrete society. If we do not reason things out but merely produce hot air, things will be confined to hot air and speculation.

I can say the same thing about independence. We have had a conversation at a collective farm [kolkhoz]. Admittedly, there were more people there from Shyaulyay than kolkhoz members, although kolkhoz members succeeded all the same in saying 20 words or so, via the chairman. All the rest, including the slogans mentioned by the gorkom secretary, were brought there from the city. But I did the following: I read the slogans aloud and then proposed dropping them and striking up a conversation. They were all dropped and a discussion did indeed begin. We pondered many topics, including the topic of independence. How many countries obtained autonomy and independence following the breakup of the colonial empires? Some members of the United Nations—150. But how many have real independence? It's a long way from declarations of independence to genuine independence. A whole highly complex chain of factors. Does political independence straightaway imply genuine independence, autonomy, and a better life? Not at all. This process does not occur automatically on acquisition of independence. Everything is determined by concrete conditions, the situation, and the sum total of various factors. Just think about that.

If we just talk piously to you, nothing will come of this and we will not make any further progress in renewing our society. That is the first thing that I wanted to say. Second, in my opinion, our country is coming to realize and agree on the main point. This can be seen and is here in this hall, reflecting all-union consensus. Namely, the idea that we must renew our society. Not by minor repairs or any cosmetic measures—it needs revolutionary renewal. In all areas. All spheres in the life of society, all structures in the state and public life, all institutions must be renewed. Based on my 5-year experience and everyday work, and after contemplation and in-depth study of everything that we have done in democratization, I do not see that anything could have been incorporated in the perestroyka process now in its entirety, unchanged. There must, above all, be a revolution in our minds. We cannot create new things without changing ourselves and our thinking, without ridding ourselves of the stereotypes that have fettered our minds above all. Innovation is the product of our intellectual and practical work—joint work, moreover.

If this understanding exists, if we say that we must change fundamental phenomena, that is, start by reforming ownership and economic relations, producing new forms of ownership and new forms of economic activity, blazing a very broad path for initiative, that is how we must act. If we say that our economy must be decentralized since the administrative-edict system cannot ensure the effective functioning of the economy in such a huge state, we must follow this path, by giving power above all to production labor collectives. They are the basic foundation. We must seek all answers within the labor collective. All the other echelons and structures in our state and society must provide incentives and create an environment to ensure that this potential is developed. Because under new legislation which is already in the pipeline, labor collectives will be interested in resolute progress. According to the new law, the soviet is to receive funds for its budget, the republic is to obtain funds for its budget according to its normatives, to live and resolve questions relating to its development. But the union budget must resolve strategic tasks, as delegated and recognized by the republics themselves. That is the way things must be when we fully implement the process of restructuring our multiethnic state.

We want to avoid repeating past events. That can only happen if the institutions that made it possible for the cult, administrative-edict system, diktat, and dictatorship to emerge continue to exist. The key to resolving this problem lies in developing democracy, involving man, as the master, in the political process, and in the new role of the soviets, that highly important link in the development of the democratic process. That is what we are doing.

Lastly, people tell us: No one will rescue us, we need parties, parties, and more parties, they must be set up, otherwise we will perish. It is not parties that ensure the future of the state in my understanding of their role. Certainly, no society can do without this. Various currents emerge at any stage in the maturity or development of political processes. But we know dozens of states where there were not two or three but dozens of parties, and despite this the most inveterate dictatorial regimes. So, does a host of parties save us? The main point is for the people to be the main protagonist since the people's participation in the political process constitutes democracy. "Demos kratos"—the power of the people. Or is this simply a means of swindling the "common people," a political game for political intriguers?

I am greatly concerned about the socioeconomic position of the country. It worries me, as it does the country's entire leadership. We have determined concrete plans on this score, of which you already have an idea, that is why I do not want to recap them here and now. A worker spoke here and I was struck by his indifference to the fate of the soviets and po ver. He has no intention or desire even to be involved in anything. But socialism is the system of the working people. That is why distortions occurred in our country, in the Central Committee, within the soviets, and the trade unions—all our structures lacked this "demos," the power of the people. I can see a slogan which was probably prepared by joint efforts on the part of "Sajudis" and someone else: "Comrade Gorbachev! Don't pit the intelligentsia against the working class." I have already said that I cannot imagine the political process within a socialist country without the participation of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia. No, we must not only not set them against one another but we must also not separate them. I know my roots and I am true to the work begun by my forefathers. Our system enables both the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia to really get involved in the entire political process. That is how it should be. Neither can replace the other. They must act together. My attitude to the intelligentsia is well known, since I

maintain constant contact and have extensive meetings with them during my work—that is an inalienable element of my political activity. So, my dear young worker, ponder everything and don't succumb too much to other people's blandishments. It seemed to me that this is not your stance. That was how it seemed to me.

So, we need the process of renewal; it has begun. Are we satisfied with this process? We are satisfied with some things and not with others. Some things have been implemented, others have not. When the processes switched to the practical plane, when the interests of some cadres within the party—and probably within the soviets, within the army, anywhere you like—began to be affected, it turned out that not everyone conforms with the demands of the time. Life began to arrange forces and people according to their talents, capabilities, and abilities. This had not happened at all before. Thus, some people are having to resign while others are having to replace them and take responsibility at this turning point, since they have a real right to and potential for this. The process is not that simple, it is taking place amid struggle. This means that we are really implementing perestroyka rather than merely prattling about it. Will it go smoothly in all areas? No, never. Will it proceed evenly and at the same pace in all areas? No. We are not idealists and we understand this.

The quests which are under way within the Communist Party or in any areas of the economy and our spiritual sphere are natural, comrades. Here, too, we must have no suspicions with regard to one another. Perestroyka has found cities, labor collectives, and republics at different levels, and in a different socioeconomic and even moral-psychological situation. Some people on the eve of reform were renewing a plant or stocks, or investing a billion in an enterprise, while others were only coming up to this. Different starting points therefore bring about different approaches and different tasks for the collectives. That is why there must be no dramatizing either at the top—owing to the fact that someone in some sphere with greater experience is making more rapid progress—or at the bottom. In principle we see what is happening as a quest, including in questions of the party's activity, its future role, a new role—that is all normal.

We must be particularly responsible when resolving problems within the framework of implementing the perestroyka policy. We are effecting a turnaround which will totally change our country, and all forms of its life. It will be a quite different society. How responsible we must be! Everything must be considered a thousand times over before taking decisions that concern the party, the federation, ownership, land, and culture. These are all fundamental values. We do not need a cavalry attack—that is the worst form of policy, extreme adventurism, which is as inadmissible at such crucial revolutionary moments as marking time. As someone here on Lithuanian soil rightly said to me, you get pins and needles from marking time. When the time comes to take a pace, it will be hard to move.

Don't think that I want to impose some new restraint, just in attractive packaging. No, comrades, I want the dynamics to change, I want us to be more resolute, not dwell on palliatives, and to proceed on the basis of profound change. We must think constantly so as not to commit follies and then put our country in a difficult position. But the processes will speed up. The year 1990 is a key one, a year of crucial decisions in all areas of political and economic reform, including the federation.

But must we really destroy and break up the CPSU in order to achieve the aims we have set ourselves? I do not share the viewpoint whereby, for instance, it is necessary to leave the CPSU and the USSR in order to achieve these aims. That is my principled stance. I don't want to be tiresome, but I ask everyone to ponder this. I see it as my duty to give a timely warning of the possible negative consequences if things do take a different turn. At the same time, I am among those people who believe that the real sovereignty enshrined in the USSR Constitution—political and economic sovereignty, leaving aside culture and language—must be achieved within the framework of a new federation. Otherwise we will resolve nothing and our perestroyka will peter out. That is why I oppose the other proposals, although these kinds of approaches have begun to be vigorously discussed. They arose somewhere here, and have been introduced into Russia. This subject has already been discussed there. I must say both for you and for the Russians, and for everyone: If we embark on the path of division, we will begin to crumble and break up, since there is no other way. A federation is one means of relations, a federation retains at the macrolevel, on the basis of delegation, the resolution of strategic questions relating to coordination, consolidation, resources, potential, and so on.

But if we now disperse to our national corners and then try to find a way of linking all this up, this situation will set in motion the fate of millions of people, and bring discord to society. A chill has already set in. Letters and notes lie in front of me citing instances of the following kind of talk. You have occupied us for 70 years, so now, we will teach you a good lesson, and so on. I do not pay attention to this, it is common or garden nationalism. But if it enters into politics, and enters into arguments for decisionmaking, then, comrades, worse times are in store for us.

That is why everything must be changed—both the federation and the CPSU—so that we can resolve what you want. At the same time we must not complicate or pile up new questions of which you already have more than enough. I am sure that if we arrive at such an understanding of the federation and the CPSU's new role, its internal structure, and mutual relations between all echelons of the CPSU, that will satisfy us all.

Since the sentiment does exist in some areas in favor of a constitutional provision on sovereignty and self-determination—including secession—a law is needed to determine the mechanism for a particular republic to leave the Soviet Union. We must not evade the demands

of life. It will soon make an appearance in the USSR Supreme Soviet commissions and committees. I believe that when it is a question of the Union, of whether or not to secede or enter, that is a question for the whole Union, for the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. There will be no perestroyka if we act on the principle of "who wins" when resolving such questions. That is once again equivalent to reverting to those methods which have not left the best of memories behind them. In a semistifled situation it is wrong to impose order. I would not want that.

There will be a law of this kind. But I repeat: I abide by my viewpoint and will demonstrate it everywhere. If we begin to destroy human, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural ties, ties at the political and party level—I tell you, that spells trouble. We will waste at least 10-15 years and some people will sidestep social progress and history altogether.

I do not agree that socialism and the communist world outlook are in crisis today. Values are simply being reanalyzed and a profound turnaround is under way which can be understood and assessed correctly within the context of the crucial situation in the development of human civilization. The whole world is changing. We cannot fail to change within this world since we are an inalienable and highly important part of it. We must change, and thus all our institutions must change, including the party. The Lithuanian Communist Party can contribute along with the others by joining in the quest for the renewal of the CPSU.

So then, comrades, I am not putting an end to this. We must continue the exchange and understand one another. I do not think that we must shout for help or that the time has come to cut the hawsers and head for sea in a boat without a compass or weather reports. We must have a proper grasp of the situation, weigh everything, and determine what must be used and what must be jettisoned as premature and unripe.

Let us try to listen to one another. Let us ponder things together. We must take this opportunity for joint contemplation: We have set about seeking strength both at the bottom, at the middle level, and at the top. We must utilize this quest, this historic chance, in the interests of all our country's peoples, in the interests of socialism. Considering our country's role, everyone in the world—not only politicians but also peoples—is interested in ensuring that our perestroyka takes place and wins through. This means that we must be very responsible today and very resolute in achieving our aims. (Applause)

V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA, took part in the meeting.

Lithuanian Party Official Views Gorbachev Visit

LD1301004290 Moscow World Service in English 0810 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] President Gorbachev has arrived for a working visit in Lithuania, one of the Soviet Baltic republics. Here's what Petr Vasiliyev writes:

For the first time the Soviet president has gone to Lithuania, where the Communist Party recently declared its independence of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. To date there are two communist parties in the republic, the independent one and the party on the platform of the Soviet Communist Party. A spokesman for the independent party, Algimantas Zhukas, describing the political situation in the republic, has said that the most striking tendency now it that of expectation. Expectation of the results of the president's visit.

[Begin Zhukas recording in vernacular, fading to English translation] People are waiting for resolutions, some for compromises, others for clear-cut and all-expanding ones. [end recording] [passage omitted] Medvedev and Maslyukov visited Lithuania before Gorbachev's visit. Sajudis rally and Gorbachev's arrival recalled. Gorbachev will visit other areas of Lithuania.

The Soviet parliamentary IZVESTIYA has published an article from its reporter in Vilnius describing one of the definitions of socialism that has been coined in Lithuania lately. It is: Tatar Mongolian yoke brought about by Russians and Jews. The spokesman for the independent Lithuanian Communist Party Algimantas Zhukas had this to say on the issue:

[Begin Zhukas recording in vernacular, fading to English translation] You should turn to the Pamyats Society for a commentary on the definition, every word of which coincides with their ideological program. As for me I think it's the absurdity that usually surfaces in political life in extreme situations. Such a sentiment is nonexistent in Lithuania. A process is underway and we're trying to realize that socialism is something different than what was thought 40 or 50 years ago. First of all socialism should have a human face and be directed at general human values in practical terms. Such statements are made with the sole purpose of fanning enmity and provoking the use of force. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Sajudis News Conference on Gorbachev Visit

LD1301042190 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] In a second afternoon news conference, members of the Seimas Council of the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis, were not so categoric in their evaluation of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

Professor Vytautas Landsbergis said that there did not seem to be any essential differences between Sajudis and the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, since the

goal was an independent Lithuania. Moreover, Prof Landsbergis said, we are not sure whether the Lithuanian Communist Party will strive for the independence to the very end. Meanwhile, the position of Sajudis was unequivoal.

Assessing Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania, (Mechyslav Rinkus) said that the highly placed guest seemed to be interested in talking, rather than listening to others. It looks like the Soviet leader has created a muddle which he wants to apply to everybody without exception, said (Mechyslav Rinkus), and added that Mikhail Gorbachev often refers to the difficulties which allegedly stood in the way of a nation determined to gain independence.

Prof Landsbergis made a brief comment on the draft law on secession, which Gorbachev said was in the process of making and which had immediately caught the attention of Western journalists. This was a means to make any secession impossible, asserted Prof Landbergis, and if Lithuanians feel their right to self-determination is threatened, Sajudis is determined to do everything in its power to explain that this bill does not concern us at all, insisted Prof Landsbergis, the chairman of the Sajudis Seimas Council. So far, we see a reluctance on the part of the Soviet Union to give answers to the most burning issues to Lithuania, continued Vytautas Landsbergis.

Is the situation in Lithuania really getting out of control? Western journalists asked. To this, Romualdas Ozolas said that he could wish that the situation in other Soviet regions was as controllable as it is in Lithuania, whereas Arvydas Juozaitis pointed out that it was not proper to speak about controlling the political situation in the country now that the Communist Party had been stripped of its leading role. Moscow continues to speak to us in yesterday's terminology, but in the sense of political pragmatism, Lithuania is no longer part of the Soviet Union, Arvydas Juozaitis concluded.

For some, the opinion of Romuldas Ozolas about Gorbachev's visit to Lithuania was somewhat unexpected. He said Lithuania is god's gift to Gorbachev, and his visit to Lithuania turned out to be a success. He got what he expected. If another similar visit takes place to, say, the Far East, perestroyka in the Soviet Union will enter a new stage.

Vilnius Radio Broadcasts Vilnius Party Aktiv

1000 GMT

LD1301104890

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1000 GMT on 13 January begins a live relay of the Party Aktiv session in Vilnius attended by M.S. Gorbachev. A The session opens with an address by Lithuanian Communist Party First Secretary Brazauskas, speaking in Russian.

At 1018 GMT Brazauskas gives a short summary of the events of the past 4 or 5 days and notes who is present at the current session.

Next, Brazauskas invites all speakers to be very brief and clear, and proposes that the time-limit for speakers will be 5 minutes. The meeting will last for 3 hours.

At 1023 Sturys, first secretary of the Silute Rayon, speaks positively about the independence of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

At 1028 Yemelyanov, editor-in-chief of the SOVIETSKAYA LITVA newspaper, published in Russian, says that the multiparty system is indispensible. He says that in many cases Lithuanian communists have no firm answer to the questions presented by the majority of the population of this republic and that Sajudis was set up not by those who were sent to implement the orders but by those who are creative personalities. Speaking about nationality relations, he says that the interests and aspirations of the people are here in this republic, whereas their implementation is far away in Moscow. Lithuanians do not want to carry on living in this way, he says.

Next, Yemelyanov notes that the Lithuanian Communist Party is placed in such a situation that it simply has to acquire such a status which would make the party acceptable to the people of this republic. He refers to the split in the party as an existing reality which is inevitable and as a result of which the Lithuanian Communist Party is gaining support and popularity.

Addressing Gorbachev, he urges him to introduce radical reforms both in the party and the Soviet Union; he invites him to make compromise, citing the Lithuanian proverb: "It is the wiser man who takes off his hat first."

At 1043 Vebra, a worker from the "Sigma" Production Association, says that Gorbachev was expected to meet communists from the independent Lithuanian Communist Party on a greater scale; he was expected to listen to their opinion. Instead, Gorbachev is meeting more of those who left the Lithuanian Communist Party and is once again voicing his opinions to the Lithuanian people, although his opinions have long been known from the TV and other news media.

Gorbachev interrupts his speech, saying that he already knows his opinion, too.

1047 GMT

LD1301115990

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian continues is relay of the Vilnius Party Aktiv session.

At 1047 Kobeckaite, of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Committee of Nationalities, stresses that interests of all nationalities residing in Lithuania should be taken into account. It is essential to study all problems, for instance, the problem of education of the rising generation in

Polish. In her opinion, Russians residing in Lithuania should not leave, but stay here.

At 1049 Pavlovich, a worker and a member of the provisional Lithuanian Communist Party central committee with the CPSU, thinks that the independent Lithuanian Communist Party only wants power and, does not take into account the various consequences of separating from the CPSU.

At 1106 Jokubas Minkevicius, of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, says that the establishment of the independent Lithuanian Communist Party does not mean that it breaks off relations with the CPSU. He praises Gorbachev, saying that he is the first such important politician to visit Lithuania and talk to the independent Lithuanian Communist Party and to Algirdas Brazauskas, who enjoys great respect in the republic. In his opinion a party which is not independent cannot fulfill its functions. He expects that Gorbachev will support progressive and not conservation forces at the coming CPSU plenum.

At 1117 GMT Balsevich, editor in chief of Lithuania's Polish newspaper CZERWONY SZTANDAR, supports the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, stating that up to now Russians have been governing in Lithuania. He is for an international leadership of the party, saying that all nationalities should be represented. He proposes that the future of the Lithuanian Communist Party should be decided not at the plenum, but at the 28th party congress which should be convened in February.

1126 GMT

LD1301123990

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian continues its live relay of the Vilnius Party Aktiv session. Speakers address the session in Russian.

At 1126 an unidentified speaker reproaches Gorbachev for encouraging Lithuanian Poles to demand autonomy, because this upsets Lithuanian-Polish relations. He says that differences between nationalities should be solved here in the republic and not in Moscow.

At 1130 reception deteriorates Brazauskas is heard discussing procedural matters with people in the hall. Another speaker takes the floor without announcing his name.

At 1135 Professor Kucherov, active member of the pro-Moscow group in the Lithuanian Communist Party, starts his speech by quoting German classical philosophers and saying that the split in the CPSU has helped purify the party. He attempts to explain the economic blockade of the republic which allegedly is taking place. Brazauskas interrupts his speech, saying that his time is up.

At 1144 K. Prunskiene, first deputy minister of the Lithuanian council of ministers, takes the floor. Her speech is mainly about the issue of secession of Lithuania and the Lithuanian Communist Party. She says that, to her personally, leaving the CPSU was an act of spiritual liberation because taking an active part in the democratization of the country while remaining in what is the most repressive party was incompatible to her.

Next she complaines that the law on economic independence of the Baltic republics is being given a rather free interpretation by the departments and ministries in Moscow. She says she was not sure about the future of the law.

At 1154 GMT an unidentified speaker says that, viewing Lenin's ideas on internationalism from a different angle, one can see that it is only natural for small nations to aspire for independence, for this was the only way for a small nation to preserve its identity.

He says that if there is a threat of severing economic links between Lithuania and the USSR, then it would not be Lithuania which does it.

At 1200 the meeting is adjourned for 15 minutes.

1219 GMT

LD1301140190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic service at 1219 GMT resumes its live relay of the Vilnius Party Aktiv session following the announced break. Speakers address the session in Russian.

At 1219 Greiciunas, party worker from Klaipeda, takes the floor. He supports the independent Lithuanian Communist Party.

At 1232 Shved, secretary of the provisional Lithuanian Communist Party central committee within the CPSU, is the next to speak. He is not against Lithuanian Communists being independent, but he objects to this leading to an independent Lithuania. In his opinion, the coming plenum should not object to the resolutions of the Lithuanian Communist Party 20th congress. It should strive to cement the unity of the CPSU but be tolerant. There is no doubt that the reputation of the Lithuanian Communist Party is high, but the Lithuanian Communist Party should be united only on the CPSU platform.

At 1240 Brazauskas takes the floor.

At 1302 GMT Razma, rector of the Teacher's' Training Institute in Vilnius, he praises Gorbachev as an outstanding person and politician. He says that it is most important to analyze realities; the resolutions of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party congress take into account the fact that the Lithuanian Communist Party does not intend to break relations with the CPSU and other republican parties. Methods of cooperation must be evolved. Lithuania will stay on its land and natural

integration must take place, relations must be reorganized from command relations to natural ones. Equal relations with the Lithuanian Communist Party must be established by the CPSU.

At 1311 writer Oleynik says that a basic renewal of the party is taking place and actions by the Lithuanian Communist Party must be considered. One must not forget that the best currency is the currency of friendship.

At 1315 Burokevicius, secretary of the provisional Lithuanian Communist Party central committee within the CPSU, says that further documents on the renewal of the CPSU are to be drawn up, and the splitting of this party would only harm it and the Soviet Union. The new Lithuanian Communist Party should delay its decisions up to the coming CPSU congress. Its present actions will weaken it, because it will not be able to take part in any decisions of the CPSU. It is still possible to reconstruct the Lithuanian Communist Party within the CPSU. The CPSU at present does not interfere into national contradictions in the republic, and the Lithuanians should be attentive to Russians and Poles residing in Lithuania. One should not regard everything what was happening in Lithuania under the Soviet rule as negative. Lithuania should develop only within the Soviet Union. If there will be a confrontation between the two communist parties in Lithuania, it will mean a tragedy. His party will take part in the renewal of the society but together with all other nations in the Soviet Union.

At 1334 Gorbachev comes to the rostrum.

1334 GMT

LD1301142190

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian continues its relay of the Vilnius Party Aktiv session. At 1334 GMT Gorbachev begins his address, speaking in Russian.

He says that the responsibility for solving the situation is shared by everyone—including the party and the central commitee. There are no diffeernces over the fact that we have to continue the processes we have begun, including the economic and political sphere. The differences begin when we turn to the way in which these things should be done. But we have to do things together.

At 1340 Gorbachev continues: I want to say one thing in this connection: I have not usurped these days in order to impose my own opinion, I take exception to what was said by one speaker along those lines, I don't believe those were his words. This is my opinion—you may disagree, but I say what I feel and think. But perestroyka provides limitless opportunities for dialogue. I have been told again and again that Lithuania needs freedom: and I said —do you not have freedom? Freedom came to Lithuania with perestroyka, and it will thrive if perestroyka is allowed to put down deep roots.

At 1343 he continues: My impression is that I have been talking to the whole of Lithuania—I have had so many meetings in different places, meetings with people on the streets. These, too, are signs that there is freedom. This is freedom. Everything that has been said has been broadcast and published, and not just to Lithuania alone but to the whole country. This is the scale of what has taken place. Everything must be known to the party, everything that takes place must be known to the people. These things are not being discussed in the corridors as has been said by one named speaker. Next he says: consider what you are doing in the context of perestroyka and not in isolation from it. We want to find mutually acceptable solutions without confrontation. I respect very much those people who think freely, casting aside stereotypes. The philosphers have spoken. From philosophy we move to politics, from politics to life.

At 1350 Gorbachev continues: There are no absolutes, there is no absolute independence and no absolute freedom. We live in an interconnected world. Politics cannot be successful unless it has a scientific input. Nor can there be politics without morals. I ask you to think through deeply everything that we are proposing to you. In 4 years we have covered more ground than in the previous 70. In history processes cannot be whipped along.

He continues: Let's think, let's reflect. I welcome the involvement of the people. The only thing these days I haven't liked is the way we've tended to put forward our own ideas rather than reflect upon them. We are still deaf. So let's ensure that this dialogue is not broken off. Let's not create new obstructions in the path of dialogue.

Next he says: We've come up against a situation which ranges wider than the republic, it has statewide importance. What we have come up against as a result of the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party congress has taken place at a critical moment in the country's life and history—when the processes of perestroyka were only just beginning to unfold in full measure and full strength. Never before have the possibilities afforded by socialism been so great as they are now and it would be an unpardonable mistake to let slip this unique historic chance that is provided by perestroyka.

He states: much has been said here in support of perestroyka, no one has opposed it.

1358 GMT

LD1301143990

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1358 GMT on 13 January continues its live relay of the Vilnius Party Aktiv.

At 1359 Gorbachev says: Let me say that we view perestroyka as the transition from authoritarian socialism to humanitarian socialism. Having analyzed the state of the country we came to the conclusion that the authoritarian system which had led to tragedy and

loss had to be rejected and cast aside. It did not guarantee real freedoms for the person, it brought the country to a state of crisis. This we have to see and we have to move to a new level. That is the starting point of perestroyka. Isn't this what the Lithuanian comrades find suitable?

Continuing, he states: we call this the critical stage. But we can say firmly that perestroyka is moving firmly forward. We have touched upon the issues of interethnic relations, the spiritual sphere. In the public consciousness perestroyka is making substantial process. Politicalization is moving forward rapidly in the country as part of the process of democratization.

At 1403 he goes on: Our society has changed much—and we are on the threshold of further great changes. We are deepening the political reform and the second stage of the reform, the granting of real power to the soviets, is now taking place in the republics and the localities. Difficult and complex processes will take place. Now as never before we need all the progressive forces of society to consolidate themselves.

Next he says: We have made mistakes and errors. We have encountered social tendencies, destabilization. all this takes place, but it does not cast doubt upon the choice that we have made: there is no going back to the old methods on account of that. Those who favor perestroyka are in a stronger position. Some try to sow panic in their opposition to perestroyka. It was impossible to raise the issue of speeding up the processes of perestroyka—not enough groundwork had been done in advance.

At 1410 Gorbachev says: Those who try to fan discord in society are doing great damage to our main cause. Only peace among the nationalities is capable of bringing the country out of its current difficulties, and here we have to act decisively, we have no right to do otherwise. Dozens of peoples live in our country and they have built up enormous hopes in connection with perestroyka. Our multinational state is going through a difficult patch at the present time—that has to be admitted.

Gorbachev next refers to the leninist nationalities policy. The CPSU nationalities policy is dedicated to the development of the individual peoples. The Second Congress of people's deputies set the task of considering the demarcation between the responsibilities of the union and the republics. He asks: in which spheres does union legislation prevail and in which spheres does republican legislation prevail? That is what has to be decided. We must sort this out together. What is the center in today's understanding of the term?

At 1415 he says of course comrade Prunskene would do it one way: but things don't happen like that. The CPSU is true to the Leninist principle of self-determination going so far as secession. We have no intention of waiving this important principle. But let's not oversimplify things in interpreting this. It's not simply a question of raising one's hand one way or the other. It's far more complicated than that: look at the military and defense implications—the realities of the Army and the Navy.

He continues: The problem of secession has enormous aspects in economic, political, defense, and many other spheres. There is also the purely psychological side of the problem. And one has to think a thousand times before setting oneself off drifting aimlessly. It's too serious a matter to deal with a people in those terms, casting them off loose into the oceans. in general the cpsu is in favor of federation because it enables the aims to be secured quickly.

1420 GMT

LD1301151290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1420 GMT on 13 January continues its live relay of the Vilnius Party Aktiv session.

At 1421 Gorbachev disagrees with Brazauskas' formulation of the necessity for an independent communist party. He quotes Giscard d'Estaing and his view of the EEC as a federation. Any suspicion of a federation is groundless. The only difference between us is that you say you should leave our federation, we say that we must reform the federation. I see it as my duty to speed up the elaboration of the law on leaving the soviet union, providing a mechanism for this, for self-determination, although my belief is that we need federation as the second wind of socialism. Society needs agreement between people of different nationalities now as never before.

He goes on: A change in the view of the party is needed, too. Renewal of our social life needs renewal of the party. We need a new party. Praise and criticism of the party often centers on the fact that it remains unchanged. Let comrade Brazauskas say how his work has been hampered by the politburo. Let those in other republics say the same thing. Communists resolve their own cadres matters now. There has been much progress. Our commitment to change everything sharply is huge and this you will discover soon—we are on the threshold of great changes.

Next gorbachev says: It's said that only a multiparty system will save the situation. No, that isn't democracy: there have been dozens of states with many, many parties, and they have been dictatorships. If there is no democratic ambience and glasnost there is nothing—and we have launched democratization and glasnost. Those are the answers to all questions.

At 1432 Gorbachev continues: The strategy of changing the CPSU means ridding the party of its supposed infallibility and its claim to rule and regulate all and everything. It must be a developing and self-renewing political force, open to political debate. The party masses must form the party bodies by direct election. [applause] So why if this is going to happen do you want to secede?

He states in the new statute of the party we will have to reflect the situation of the party organisations in the republic, removing restrictions on their activity in a number of different areas.

At 1436 Gorbachev says that he wants to end on a positive note. These days have not been spent in vain, because all has been done openly, open to the whole world and open to the whole country. We have put down a sound foundation for considering that we are going to continue our dialogue and find answers to our problems. I feel that I'm among party friends. Let's have all your proposals for the plenum and the forthcoming 28th party congress. Let's think: and let's act in a very responsible manner. It would cost our peoples and socialism too dearly to act otherwise. [applause]

Gorbachev's speech ends at 1439.

An unidentified speaker asks Gorbachev about the mutliparty system. Gorbachev says he's already dealt with the matter: Multiparty systems are no tragedy in themselves if they work. It wasn't something that lenin feared, but it's no panacea and it's not something that should be foisted upon people. The people have to be the main contender on the stage—that is the heart of the matter.

Brazauskas winds up by saying: We have covered a lot of ground. He quotes Gorbachev's concluding words. We have problems that correspond to All-Union problems. We have our own specific problems. The aim this week has been to understand each other as well and as fully as possible. If we've managed to do that—then that's all to the good. We understand the complexities. Time does its own work. Lithuania is covering the same path as the rest of the country, perhaps at its own pace.

Brazauskas recalls a visit made by Gorbachev to Lithuania 9 years ago and talks about how much has been done during that time. He says: We are optimists, the obstacles can be overcome. He thanks everyone, he thanks Raisa Gorbacheva. Perhaps extreme things have been said, perhaps there have been extreme banners and slogans but such is life. The main thing is that Lithuania is moving forward. Thank you, comrades, and goodbye. [applause]

At 1448 GMT the relay ends.

Speakers Listed

PM1401144790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Republic Aktiv Meeting"]

[Text] Vilnius 13 Jan—Today the capital of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was the venue for a republic party aktiv meeting in which members of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party and members of the provisional Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform) participated.

It was addressed by V. Sturis, first secretary of the Shilutskiy Lithuanian Communist Party Rayon Committee [raykom]; V. Yemelyanov, editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA LITVA; L. Vebra, adjuster at the "Sigma" production association; G. Kobetskayte, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Nationalities Committee; worker V. Pavlovich; Professor I. Minkyavichyus; Z. Baltzevich, editor of the newspaper CZERWONY SZTANDAR; A. Serbentavichyus, first secretary of the Sovetskiy Lithuanian Communist Party Raykom, Vilnius; Professor I. Kucherov; K. Prunskene, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers; Vilnius University Docent Yu. Karosas; V. Greychyunas, first secretary of the Klaypeda Lithuanian Communist Party Gorkom; V. Shved, secretary of the provisional Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform); A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; S. Razma, rector of the Vilnius Pedagogical Institute; B. Oleynik, secretary of the Ukrainian Writers' Union Board and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; and M. Burokyavichyus, secretary of the provisional Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (on the CPSU platform).

M.S. Gorbachev delivered a speech at the meeting.

V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of the newspaper PRAVDA; and a group of participants in the CPSU Central Committee December Plenum participated in the meeting's work.

Brazauskas Speech

LD1301225990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1240 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Speech by A. Brazauskas, Lithuanian Communist Party first secretary, at the Lithuanian Communist Party Aktiv in Vilnius—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich, esteemed comrades, today each of us, and all of us together, are trying to assess the results of the work of the delegation of the CPSU Central Committee led by Mikhail Gorbachev. As you know, the delegation was getting acquainted with the situation of the affairs in the Lithuanian Communist Party [LCP] after the 20th Congress.

It is for the first time in 50 years of Soviet power that we have the head of state, the general secretary of the CPSU, visiting this republic. It is with great pleasure that I point out that this visit is conducted by a man whose name we link with all positive changes which allow all people living on this planet to feel more safe and more friendly to one another. We, who are standing on the verge of nuclear self-destruction, were given hope for the solution of global problems on the eve of the 3d millenium.

The relationship between states and peoples has been changed literally during the period of a couple of years, after the policy of new thinking was announced.

The period after the 20th party congress, the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and a group of Central Committee members, and this meeting taking place today, which is perhaps rather unpleasant, makes us return once again to the things which constituted the basis for the extraordinary decisions which were made by the communists of Lithuania.

If we gave an extremely brief formulation of our aspirations, then these would be: Continue to transform the relationship with the Soviet Union and its corresponding subjects in the spheres of the state, economy, and politics.

The main question, which today causes our concern and understandably that of the leadership of the CPSU, is the independence of the LCP [Lithuanian Communist Party]. Therefore, it seems that it is necessary to underline once again the reasons which, according to us, prompted the steps we took.

First, the all-round analysis of the political situation in the republic has convincingly demonstrated that only an independent party can enjoy the trust of the people of Lithuania, and only on this basis will the party be able to remain in the political arena as a serious political force. Only in this way can the slogan: People's Plans Are Plans of the Party, become reality.

The question asked by many—if our aspirations for independence mean distrust toward the CPSU—does not reflect the true state of affairs, because it indicates that processes taking place in Lithuania are not understood.

Second, the development of democracy and self-governing of the people, social justice, which is also supported by the progressive part of the CPSU—so we understand—is also the flag of the communists of Lithuania. However, practical implementation of these principles is only possible if an independent communist party appeared in the political arena.

Third, the consequences of the social-economic crisis will not be overcome effectively if the status of the party runs counter to the concept of the economic independence of the republic.

An independent communist party will ensure due and equal participation in the first truly democratic elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets of the republic in the post-war years.

Fourth, today everybody admits that the restructuring, which was declared more than 4 years ago, is lagging behind—most of all within the CPSU itself. This was the opinion voiced by most communists. In spite of various proposals, including our own, the situation in the CPSU has changed very little in practical terms until this day. Time does not wait, as life shows us. The situation in our country and in this republic changes almost every day. The documents of the decision, which are going to be placed for discussion by the members of the party—we hope this will take place in the near future—according to the opinion of many communists, should have been made public earlier. Because the main condition for a successful policy is timely disclosure of interests and their timely solution. Therefore, independence of the LCP is the order of the times, it is a specific manifestation of perestroyka in the life of the party, and accordingly it is our perception of the future CPSU as a union of independent communist parties. Independence of the Communist Party also means a new type of link with the CPSU which corresponds to the spirit of the perestroyka. It also means the aspiration of the majority of communists in the republic. These aspirations, based on the ideas of perestroyka, correspond to the democratic and the humane, and not to the bureaucratic-centralistic orientation for building socialism.

These were the main motives which prompted the necessity for setting up an independent communist party. This opinion appeared not as a result of someone's personal interest, it appeared on the initiative of the overwhelming majority of the primary party organizations. This was especially vividly demonstrated during the elections of delegates to the 20th party congress, which became an original party referendum. The 20th congress could not be avoided, because today only by collective wisdom can the questions of the future of perestroyka be solved. The time has come to answer the questions: What has been done to find out what to do next? In the name of what objective are we implementing perestroyka? How do we understand this objective? What do we expect while we are on the road to achieve it?

What did the congress give us? First of all, we adopted program documents. When these documents were published in the republican press they received positive assessment by the majority of people of this republic. Second, we dissociated ourselves from the past, the repressions and Stalinist crimes. The evaluation of events of our controversial and tragic past was given at the congress. Third, the Central Committee has been renewed, methods of work and the relationship between communists within the party have undergone and are still undergoing essential changes. It is necessary to point out that already today we can state that the steps we have taken were given great support by the people of this republic. If last year a considerable part of the communists left the party, now I must say, that during the period of several weeks about 300 people have already joined the party.

Mikhail Sergeyevich and esteemed comrades, we hope that the decisions of the Lithuanian Communist Party, after they had been discussed at the December CPSU plenum, after a group of the Central Committee and a group of the Politburo visited us, including Mikhail Gorbachev himself, these decisions will become easier to understand, and we hope that this understanding will

become a basis for the adoption of a corresponding decision at the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

In our turn, we will adhere to the principle of cooperation with the CPSU laid out in our documents, especially in the Appeal to the Central Committee Plenum.

The thought which was predominantly found in all the discussions and at all the meetings of the CPSU delegation, as well as in the central press was: Lithuania wants to secede and it wants to be an independent state. As a rule this is presented as a negative and seperatist instant, which is almost supposed to mean the betrayal of perestroyka.

Almost never, with the exception of Mikhail Gorbachev's report at the December CPSU Central Committee Plenum, was the question asked: Why don't the people want to live in such a union? I cannot really understand it; furthermore when in the whole of Europe a process of integration and a closer union is taking place. Yes, Mikhail Sergeyevich then said: You have not lived in the renewed federation and already want to leave it. Indeed, we have not lived yet. But, really, why? I will try to briefly answer this question.

The first reason is the historical circumstances of the independent Lithuanian state joining the Soviet Union. I will not mention details here. They are such that they cannot but offend the national pride of the people, who have an 800-year-old history of statehood, not to mention the fact that this has brought immeasurable tragedies to thousands of families and become an open wound in the consciousness of the people. [Words indistinct] economic aid, this is true and a very dynamic development of the economy, I would even say, the acceleration of some economic- political structure in the republic sometimes not paying attention to local possibilities and local production factors.

The second reason is an unjust attitude to many nations [words indistinct] up to this day, up to this day. This is dictated by the interest of the hardest former centralization which has, indeed, been justified in the conditions of the most cruel war, and in some degree granted privileges to some nations and not to others.

The third reason is in the unsuccessful economic experiment of the Stalinist model, I would say, of socialism and in the obvious crisis of communist and technocratic utopias, in the name of which [words indistinct] on the democratization, social justice, and [words indistinct] reserves in all spheres. The LCP program adopted at the 20th congress says, and I quote: The essence of the work of the communists is the liberation of man from economic oppression, social calamity, and [words indistinct] is the condition of general free development.

In essence, we are returning today to the fact that Lenin's behest to the party has not been realized. Life confirmed the correctness of the Leninist notion of the self-determination of the nations. Of course, today is a completely different time on the calendar. Therefore, other solutions are essential, too. But without the real principle of self-determination; there cannot be the union. For this purpose it is essential to work out a mechanism of implementing the right for self-determination. Having it, the nations will feel differently and make corresponding decisions.

Political questions in various historical conditions, and the level of political self-consciousness and also the requirements in democracy and self-dependence of the union republics, are not the same. Therein is the complexity and difficulty in regulating them. Therefore, a different approach is essential, the rejection of universal decisions in the course of political reform. There is such a precedent. It is the concept of economic independence of the Baltic republics. Why is it not possible with this approach to transfer to political and also party structures? If we here give up the unified approach, then there is the possibility to solve problems which have arisen in connection with the resolutions of the 20th LCP congress.

Implementing the LCP program on the restoration of statehood, one of the important aims of the LCP is the definition of the possibilities of Lithuania's political development in the next few years and also in a more distant future. The way to sovereignty is a process which has its strategy and sequence. Without taking into consideration this political and economic reality, we would take chances with the fate of the people and with everything which we have achieved with such substantial efforts.

On the whole, this can be described as a transition, stage by stage, from the status of a sovereign union republic, to the status of a higher level of the statehood of individual republics. Such is Lithuania, where these processes have already started. It will have its economy and have priorities of production, the combination of the forms of ownership, and its own social-political structure. With this aim in view, we already today are striving toward an equal mutually advantageous economic cooperation with the central organs and all union republics. On this stage it is important to achieve true economic independence, establish true political pluralism, and parliamentary democracy.

Today we often hear accusations that Lithuania intends to break off all economic relations with the Soviet Union. But we are not for economic separation of Lithuania, its isolation. The matter concerns qualitatively new economic relations based on the development of market relations, and many other economic levers. Economic self-dependence and not isolationism in the conditions of the all-union world market is the essence of the law on economic self-dependence of the Baltic republics which is not being implemented.

The implementation of the law can take place only by way of an equivalent exchange of goods and mutually advantageous contact, new forms of ownership, the

formation of an effective financial system. Apart from that, taking into account the fact that two-thirds of the republic's economy depends on the USSR's raw material resources, linked by cooperative links with more than 1,000 enterprises in the country, there is no other way but cooperation. Of course, there are people in the republic who do not or do not want to understand this. It is essential to carry out an extensive and consistent explanation by us, the Central Committee, and the union organs; economists should also become propaganda workers. Unfortunately, the population obviously does not receive enough information. We must consider all our partners if we want them to consider us.

Realizing the republic's economic independence, we are striving qualitatively to reorganize and perfect economic relations with the whole union and foreign countries, forming at the same time new sources for the market of technology, raw materials, and fuel. But in order to do this, years of mutual understanding, and changing structures and mechanisms of the economy without which, although working better, we could not live richer and happier, will be needed.

I would like to briefly dwell on the problems of national questions. They are constantly stressed in all meetings in our republic. Yes, a part of Lithuania's population is concerned about political processes in the republic. This is understandable. It is impossible to accuse people of falsely understanding internationalism. It is not their fault; this is the fault of the party of the Stalinist national policy which has led to this state of affairs, and we see this everywhere [words indistinct]. The LCP program says: Without the cultivation of love and respect for one's nation, its accumulated values, it is impossible to educate a true internationalist who does not have an egocentric attitude to his nation, but in the context of the universal society of the nations. The party is against chauvinism, nationalism, cosmopolitism, and discrimination of the nations. There will be in Lithuania concern for the education and culture of national minorities. Conditions will be created for them to maintain relations with their historical homelands. We intend to consistently implement this, and, therefore, there are no grounds to talk about refugees, [words indistinct] of one nation on another. I think that a nationalist on the everyday life level [bytovoy natsionalist] does not mean to be an indice of true feelings of the Lithuanian people.

We are striving toward a democratic society in which the main ideals [words indistinct] are realized: Freedom of man and social justice. This is not contrary to the interests of any nation and any national minority residing outside its historical homeland.

In conclusion, I would like to say and hope that these 5 days of the guests' stay in Lithuania will promote mutual understanding. This is the wish and hope of Lithuania's communists. You should be convinced of this, Mikhail Sergeyevich. With these good hopes I would like to conclude my speech. [applause]

'Diametrically Opposed' Ideas

LD1301145190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Our special correspondent Ludmila Semina reports from the Lithuanian capital.

[Semina] A meeting of the republican party aktiv is now taking place in the Lithuanian Communist Party Central committee in Vilnius. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and a CPSU delegation are participating. Keen and fundamental arguments are being thrashed out about Lithuania's place and role in our union, about the new Communist Party, and the way forward. Communists are speaking. Senior party officials and workers, newspaper editors, and scientists, public figures are being heard. I have already been hearing fewer grievances about our difficult history and more reflections on how to carry on living and on how to make progress.

The absolute majority of the republic's residents support Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's striving to find a way out of a difficult and unusual situation, (?as was demonstrated by) the address by the first secretary of the Silute Rayon committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (Shuris): It is necessary to look ahead. It is necessary, without any delay, to get down to preparing a union treaty. It is also necessary to introduce new principles in the interrelations between communist parties. A whole complex of problems, burning problems, not only in Lithuania but also in our entire multinational state, are being raised by the participants in the meeting of Lithuanian's republic party aktiv: about that nationalities policy and the psychology of the nationalities, well, about politics and culture, the state and the law. A keen but respectful discussion is taking place. Your arrival, your arguments, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, will not pass without being noticed by Lithuania's communists, the participants in the conversation say. They deny a striving toward separatism, toward splitting activity and are calling for a dialogue for consolidation, for cooperation. But diametrically opposed addresses are heard both directly from the hall and from the rostrum.

The participants in the aktiv are awaiting with interest the address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Scheduled for today also is a news conference by participants in Lithuania's party aktiv.

Lithuanian Leaders See Off Gorbachev

LD1301183290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has left Vilnius. At the airport, he was seen off by Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Burakyavichyus, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee on

the CPSU platform; Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Sakalauskas, chairman of the republican Council of Ministers.

Today Comrade Gorbachev arrived in Moscow.

Return to Moscow

PM1401145990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under general heading "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] In the evening of 13 January M.S. Gorbachev arrived in Moscow [from Vilnius]. V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of the newspaper PRAVDA; also returned to the capital.

Economic

Terms of 16-Year State Treasury Bills Detailed

PM1201094990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Ministry of Finance"]

[Text] With the permission of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of Finance is issuing 16-year USSR State Treasury Bills. The treasury bills, covering the period from 1 January 1990 through 1 January 2006, are to be placed with the population on a strictly voluntary basis through USSR Savings Bank institutions. The bills will yield 5% per year. The conditions applying to the issue of USSR State Treasury Bills are published below.

Conditions Applying to the Issue of USSR State Treasury Bills

1. USSR State Treasury Bills in the sum of R15 billion will be issued for a 16-year term—from 1 January 1990 through 1 January 2006—and will yield 5% per year.

2. USSR State Treasury Bills are bearer bonds and will be placed with the population by USSR Savings Bank institutions on a purely voluntary basis. The placing procedure will be laid down by the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Savings Bank.

3. USSR State Treasury Bills will be issued in denominations of R1,000, R500, R100, and R50. The R1,000 treasury bill is the baseline denomination and the R500, R100, and R50 bills are one-half, one-tenth, and one-twentieth of the R1,000 bill respectively.

4. USSR State Treasury Bills will be issued in individual R150-million tranches. Each tranche will comprise 150,000 R1,000 bills numbered 000001 through 150,000 or a corresponding number of bills in the other denominations.

5. Income on USSR State Treasury Bills will be paid by USSR Savings Bank institutions annually on the bills' coupons in the year following the bills' purchase. Coupons will be redeemed 1 January each year, beginning in 1 January 1991. Coupons detached from treasury bills will not be eligible for income.

Variable price quotations will apply to the sale of USSR State Treasury Bills. The size of this variation will depend on the time of the year when the bills are bought and will be laid down by the USSR Ministry of Finance in conjunction with the USSR Savings Bank.

When a USSR State Treasury Bill is sold a number of coupons corresponding to the number of full years since 1 January 1990 shall be detached from it.

6. USSR State Treasury Bills will be redeemed by USSR Savings Bank institutions as of 1 January 2001. The bills to be redeemed shall be determined by annual redemption lists [tirazhi pogasheniya]. Redemption dates will be set by the USSR Ministry of Finance. USSR State Treasury Bills will be redeemed at face value together with the value of their coupons, including the coupon for the year in which the bill is to be redeemed. Coupons for subsequent years will not be redeemed. If holders of bills to be redeemed do not present them for redemption they will be entitled to continue receiving income on the coupons until the maturity date.

7. USSR State Treasury Bills not included on redemption lists will be redeemed by USSR Savings Bank institutions as of 1 January 2006.

8. USSR State Treasury Bills and their coupons may be presented for redemption and income until 1 January 2008. After this date the bills will expire and no longer be redeemable.

9. USSR State Treasury Bills and the income from them shall be exempt from state taxation.

Gold Production Plan Fulfillment in Siberia

LD1501044990 Magadan Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Summary] Although Severovostokzoloto has fulfilled its year's plan for gold extraction, washing continues at some sites. The Berelekh, Tenke, Srednekan, and Dukat combines are extracting above-plan gold. Yagodnoye, Orotukan, and Susuman are trying to cut down on their shortfall, and, so far, weather is making this possible. Yagodnoye has a chance of fulfilling its plan. Sites are being prepared for next year. At the Eksperimentalnyy Placer mine, the area is already prepared for next washing season, while at the Tenke, Susuman Komsomolskiy, and Polyarnyy combines more than 90% of the area is ready.

The scientific and technical council of the Komsomolskiy combine examined the prospects for mining for next year at its routine meeting. It determined the volume of turf stripping, the preparation of surface and underground sands, and the extraction per unit. Orlov, chief engineer of the combine, noted that the quality curves of the sites had gone down noticeably, but the extraction remained the same. This was confirmed by this year's results. The combine overfulfilled its plan for gold extraction, thanks to the use of a new technical plan for preparing open-cast areas and washing sands. This has lowered costs. The enterprise will continue to conduct a policy of using more modern technology.

Editor Comments on New Business Weekly

LD1501151690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0330 GMT on 15 January, in its "120 Minutes" program, broadcasts an interview with V.Ye. Yakovlev, editor-in-chief of the weeky KOMMERSANT, organ of the United Union of Cooperatives of the USSR and the first newspaper to be published in the USSR in conditions of financial autonomy. The interview is conducted by an unidentified correspondent. Yakovlev begins by noting that the paper is an all-union weekly aimed at business people and cooperatives. He goes on to say that he believes financial autonomy has reduced the difference between cooperatives and state-run businesses so that both are in need of the same kind of information covering domestic and foreign markets.

Yakovlev notes that the paper's name is not being used for the first time; there was a KOMMERSANT for business people before the revolution. He explains that the editors chose the name to demonstrate the continuity of business life in Russia.